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ABSTRACT

This desk reference is designed to help Employment Service and other human resources personnel in providing manpower services to minority group members. While emphasizing the need for affirmative action with constant effort to improve training and employment opportunities for minorities, the document describes legal, economic, and cultural aspects of the problem and discusses possible solutions open to program staff. Expanded target audience selection, counseling, testing, training, placement, and job development are considered in this comprehensive guide for manpower personnel. (EH)

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MANPOWER SERVICES TO MINORITY GROUPS:

**A DESK REFERENCE
FOR
ES PERSONNEL**



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**U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
MANPOWER ADMINISTRATION**

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To see as far as one may and to feel the great forces that are behind every detail... to hammer out as compact and solid a piece of work as one can, to try to make it first rate, and to leave it unadvertised.

—Oliver Wendell Holmes

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FOREWORD

This is a desk reference specifically designed for ES staff whose activities involve, directly or indirectly, the provision of manpower services to minority group individuals, particularly to Indians, Negroes, and the Spanish-speaking. It is applicable, however, to other manpower personnel concerned with the development and utilization of our Nation's human resources.

This book does not suggest a limit to which employment service or other manpower personnel should go in providing and implementing equal employment opportunities for minorities. *Affirmative action*, a concept which the Manpower Administration endorses, requires that all manpower personnel work constantly and consistently toward bridging the gap between promises and practices in training and employment opportunities for minorities in American society.

The provision of manpower services begins and ends with a consideration of the needs and desires of each individual applicant. If there is any erring, it must be on the side of the applicant. Administrative convenience is still a luxury which we cannot afford.

On the other hand, we cannot minimize the necessity for continuously improving the mechanics of the various processes and procedures which have a direct bearing on the delivery of manpower services to minority group individuals. A genuine concern for mankind as a whole or empathy with a particular individual because of special cultural problems and needs is not sufficient. There must be a balance between the emotional desire to understand, sympathize with, and help other people; and the rationally conceived mechanisms by which one person's help can be translated into another person's self-help. To oversimplify perhaps, manpower personnel must exercise specific technical and interpersonal skills in dealing with the immediacy of the "little picture" (i.e., the manpower status of one individual); but simultaneously exercise wisdom in understanding the consequences of his decisions and actions in terms of a much "bigger picture" (i.e., the quality of life of all men). Unfortunately, there is no formula for maintaining this balance.

The desk reference is organized into an Introduction and four chapters. The Introduction attempts to define the term "minority group" for use in this book, and provides some legal history into the concepts of "equal employment opportunity" and "affirmative action."

Chapter I then discusses the nature of the economic and cultural differences between the "dominant society" and each of the three minority groups.

Chapter II discusses several of the basic ES functions where discriminatory practices are most likely to occur.

Chapter III discusses resource aids to help combat discrimination in the provision of manpower services.

Chapter IV addresses itself to the responsibilities of Manpower Administration staff in equal employment opportunity efforts and to the question of how such efforts can be adequately evaluated.

INTRODUCTION

"Minority Groups:" A Term

Use of the term "minority group" is almost as varied as use of the word "race." For this reason it is equally impossible to define in the abstract, for use in everyday conversation.

However, for us as people and as representatives of a governmental agency, who are concerned with the well-being of other people primarily in terms of their employment status, the term can be more narrowly defined. A "minority group-in-relation-to-employment" is any group of people who, because of race, color, or cultural and/or economic characteristics are denied equal opportunity for jobs and training, or for manpower and employment-related services. "Minority" in this sense does not always refer to numbers, since, in certain geographical areas, one group may be the majority in number, but become a "minority" in equal employment opportunity.

Three groups of peoples, who are most commonly identified in this country as "Negro," "Indian," and "Spanish-speaking" are discussed in some detail in this book. These three are singled out, not because they represent all "minorities" in the United States, but because their actual numbers make them the three largest groups of peoples who are having employment opportunity problems out of proportion to their size.

"Equal Employment Opportunity": A Legal History

The concept of equal employment opportunity was envisioned in the 1933 *Wagner-Peyser Act*, which established the United States Employment Service and its affiliated State agencies. The Act specifically states that:

It shall be the province and duty of the Bureau to promote and develop a national system of employment offices for men, women, and juniors who are legally qualified to engage in gainful occupations.

In the Employment Act of 1946, Congress declared:

It is the continuing policy and responsibility of the Federal Government to coordinate and utilize all of its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing, and seeking to work and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power.

Public Law 88-352, an Act of the 88th Congress, passed and signed into law in July, 1964, and known as the *Civil Rights Act of 1964*, is an eleven-section law whose *Title VI*, "Nondiscrimination in Federally-Assisted Programs" and *Title VII*, "Equal Employment Opportunity," relate specifically to the goals and functions of the employment service.

Title VI states that:

No person in the United States shall, on the ground of race, color, or national origin, be excluded from participation, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

Title VII includes provisions directly affecting the system of State and local employment services. Section 701 (e) includes the public employment offices within the term "employment agency." Section 703 (b) reads:

It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employment agency to fail or refuse to refer for employment, or otherwise discriminate against, any individual because of race, color, religion, sex, or national

origin, or to classify or refer for employment any individual on the basis of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

The public employment service is directly affected by other provisions of Title VII which prohibit discrimination in employment or training by employers and labor organizations. Section 703 (a) makes it an unlawful employment practice for an employer to "fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin." Section 703 (c) states that it is unlawful for any labor organization to exclude, expel, segregate, or otherwise discriminate against any individual because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Section 703 (a) makes it unlawful for "any employer, labor organization, or joint labor-management committee controlling apprenticeship or other training or retraining, including on-the-job training programs, to discriminate against any individual because of his race, color, religion, sex, or national origin in admission to, or employment in, any program established to provide apprenticeship or other training."

Pursuant to the intent of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and particularly as it is stated in Title VI, the President of the United States issued *Executive Order 11246* (September 28, 1965) and *Executive Order 11375* (October 17, 1967). Together they provide for equal opportunity in Federal employment; employment by Federal contractors and subcontractors; and employment under Federally-assisted construction contracts.

Manpower Administration Policy

The concept of equal employment opportunity within the Manpower Administration is stated in GAL 1367, March 25, 1970:

It is the policy of the Manpower Administration that the State Employment Security agencies should employ such proportion of workers from minority groups as will assure that all agencies and offices can operate effectively in responding to the manpower and employment needs of the community being served.

U. S. Training and Employment Service Policy

Employment Service policy concerning service to minority group applicants has been set forth in the *Employment Security Manual*, Part I, Section 0641, "Service to Minority Groups"; and again in Part II, Section 8110, "Service to Special Applicant Groups":

It is the policy of the Employment Service:

- A. To promote employment opportunity for all applicants on the basis of their skills, abilities, and job qualifications.
- B. To make definite and continuous effort with employers with whom relationships are established, to the end that their hiring specifications be based exclusively on job performance factors.
- C. To assist the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity in effectuating Executive Order 10925 by not accepting discriminatory job orders from Federal establishments or from employers on Federal contracts, and by cooperating with procurement agencies and other appropriate agencies of the Government in their efforts to secure compliance with non-discrimination clauses in Government contracts.
- D. To identify the race, color, and national origin of an applicant on office records to the extent determined by the Secretary as needed to evaluate the adequacy of services.
- E. To register, counsel, test, select, and refer applicants to job openings and training opportunities on the basis of their occupational qualifications or suitability for training, and to conduct these and all other

activities performed by or through employment service offices financed in whole or in part from Federal funds without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.

- F. To make no selection or referral of applicants on job orders containing any discriminatory specification with regard to race, creed, color, or national origin.
- G. To cooperate with all governmental authorities whose functions will aid the Employment Service in carrying out an amplified and more effective placement service by furnishing such agencies with information obtained through the operations of the Employment Service which is relevant to the performance of its functions, including information relating to fair employment practices.
- H. To provide and operate all employment service premises and facilities without discrimination or segregation based on race, creed, color, or national origin.
- I. To assign or outstation no personnel for the provision of employment services to individuals in any institution, agency, or establishment which excludes, segregates, or discriminates against any person because of race, creed, color, or national origin.

Affirmative Action

The Federal-State employment service system endorses, adheres to, and expects affirmative action from itself and from the employers whom it serves. Affirmative action means "applying management techniques and controls over personnel actions that are normally applied to any program. . . that management decides is important and necessary. It means analyzing the methods, procedures and results of personnel actions to determine whether they have resulted in exclusion of qualified workers for reasons of race, creed, color, or national origin. It means taking appropriate corrective action if discrepancies are found between company policy and practice."¹ It is not constructive to say merely that local employment service offices will not discriminate against members of minority groups when rendering services to them. The services provided must be designed to surmount the obstacles that have prevented minorities from taking their rightful place in the job market on an equal basis with other applicants. By effecting the philosophy of human resources development, the employment service can provide, at the local level, the intensive services needed to achieve the above goals.

Affirmative action also includes promoting and encouraging positive staff attitudes toward minority group applicants. It includes positive steps to recruit and employ qualified minority group applicants within the ES system itself, in professional categories as well as in preprofessional ones. Affirmative action means working with State merit systems to insure that this is possible. It requires positive action to establish effective working relationships with leaders of formal and informal minority group organizations in the community. It also requires working with employers to secure modification of unrealistic hiring specifications that unjustly bar qualified minority group applicants.

In summary, while "effective services to minority groups" means, by definition, competence in the performance of basic local employment services to all peoples, "affirmative action" means the special aggressive action which may be needed to offset the consequences of previous obstacles faced by certain groups of people.

¹George W. Culberson, Air Force Systems Command, Andrews Air Force Base. From a paper presented at the Midwest Personnel Conference, June 1964.

CHAPTER I

THE MINORITY GROUPS

CULTURAL AND ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS

Ethnic Culture or Economic Poverty

When discussing three minority groups separately—the Indian, the Spanish-speaking, and the Negro—we must be careful to point out certain areas of potential confusion. In general, they center around the line of demarcation between those features and characteristics which are unique to one particular group, and those characteristics which are shared by all three.

In some ways, the confusion is more than potential—it is actual and continuing. There are differing views among many people, including highly credentialled sociologists and anthropologists, as to both the areas of commonality among various so-called minority groups, and their causal explanations. Certainly we can say that within all three groups under discussion there is a higher-than-the-national-average incidence of economic poverty. And since economic deprivation is a fundamental limitation which permeates all of living, we are justified in asking what might be the causal relationship between poverty and such things as:

- family organization
- child-rearing patterns and children's preparation for school
- educational attainment
- health care
- mental health
- employment
- political attitudes
- language style
- general outlook on life

Indeed, many studies do point to what has often been termed "the culture of poverty." The fact of economic deprivation, it is said, reduces all human beings to one common level, where everyday concerns are basic and simple acts of subsistence living. If we assume this to be true, whether on the basis of empirical data or by personal experience and observation, we must then be careful not to confuse economically induced characteristics of a group of people with characteristics that are better explained on the basis of cultural ethnicity.

We are all agreed that poverty should be eliminated. There is no such agreement, however, on the causes of poverty or on the relationship between poverty and the special problems and needs of minority groups. Therefore, there can be no agreement as to the value of developing or preserving, and to what degree, the "cultural uniqueness" of such groups as Negroes, Indians, and the Spanish-speaking.

While this book cannot go into a full investigation of these matters, it can indicate some of the important areas that must be considered by anyone who wishes to understand what manpower development is all about. Poverty does breed a certain way of life, no matter what ethnic or racial elements are involved. The daily struggle against powerlessness and insecurity; the "living on the edge of chronic emergencies"; the social isolation and limited range of alternatives—all contribute to an estrangement from the rest of society and a social in-breeding which impedes development. That there can result from all this a fatalistic attitude toward a world which one cannot influence or change; an orientation to present day-to-day existence and a seeking out of whatever pleasures can be had each day; a tendency toward authoritarianism and a desire for the concrete and material in life—should not surprise us. Such attitudes and modes of behavior can be found among Appalachian White poor, among rural and ghetto Negro poor, and among "barrio" Mexican-American poor. Similarly, crowded living quarters, reduced access to education, and occupational restriction to simple manual-type work are standard trappings of many different groups of poor people.

Even language (whether English, Spanish, Indian or other), develops differently in economically-deprived settings and presents problems to those who try to move into other segments of American society.

The full development and utilization of our human resources only begins with the elimination of poverty. But poverty, including that mode of behavior associated with it, cannot be eliminated by a single stroke in one direction. It resides in many geographical pockets of the country and among several culturally different groups of people. We must therefore understand these groups of people very well and the differences among them before we act on mere assumptions as to how they will respond to efforts to help them transcend poverty. We must understand the differences between economic characteristics and ethnic/racial characteristics. Only then can we separate the attack upon poverty from the attack upon discrimination. This is important to those of us in manpower development activities because different tools are involved. In the former attack, our aim is to eliminate poverty and whatever "culture" may be associated with it. In the latter we want to eliminate ethnic/racial discrimination, while still providing options for the maintenance of many of the cultural characteristics which have been the bases for the discrimination.

Ethnic and Racial Differentials

People tend to seek out and to associate with other people who seem most like themselves and with whom, therefore, they feel more comfortable. Conversely, people tend to shy away from those who seem to be different. Discrimination occurs along this continuum when a person or group of persons is handicapped in making economic, social, and political decisions on the same bases as all other citizens. Said in another way, discrimination occurs when a person or group of persons is made economically or politically subordinate within the society because of unjust factors of "difference," such as color or national origin.

We have already indicated that Negroes, Indians, and Spanish-speaking peoples are singled out for discussion here because they bear a disproportionate share of the Nation's poverty, unemployment, and underemployment. The difficulty that these three groups have had in penetrating discrimination and overcoming poverty stands in contrast to the experience of other so-called minority groups like Italians, Jews, Irish, etc.

One of the first waves of immigration into the United States occurred between 1820 and 1840. Farmers and artisans with skills developed and intact came to America from England, France, and Germany because of the opportunities America appeared to offer them. They came into the Northeastern cities, but many eventually migrated into other parts of the country.

The second immigrant wave (1840-1880) was unique in the history of immigration in the sense that the landless peasants from Germany and Ireland had an intense desire to "flee to America." They were agricultural workers who had been displaced by the industrialization processes taking place in their respective countries, and hence arrived in America without money and without skills. As a consequence, they settled in the cities in which they arrived and became porters, sweepers, construction workers, or became part of the new clothing industries that were developing. In 1855 in New York City, it is reported that of a total of 20,000 employed in clothing industries, 9,128 were Irish and 8,307 were German. Since clothing manufacture thrived on cheap labor, their earnings were minimal and they became "perennially poverty-stricken."

Between 1880 and World War I, a large number of Italians and East European Jews migrated into the country. Also, a smaller number came from the Slavic and Baltic countries. Although many of these immigrants were also displaced peasants, they were drawn to the U.S. because of the expanding opportunities for unskilled labor which became available after 1870.

All of the various peoples who were part of these early immigrant waves passed through a period of poverty. Some of the problems of juvenile delinquency and crime that attended their periods of adjustment to American society seemed more characteristic of urban growth than of the people who were immigrating. Although individuals often sought to avoid identification with newer immigrants, group identification usually persisted over three to four generations.

Several theories have been put forth to help explain the difference between the conditions of earlier "minority groups" and conditions of those with which we are concerned today. Some speak of the concept of "value fit"—a term used to describe the degrees of similarity or dissimilarity between the "dominant American culture" and the cultural background of any given minority group. Language structure, values concerning work, family, religion, time, life goals, etc., are examples of the kinds of things used to evaluate the degree of "value fit" between people of differing cultural backgrounds. While this concept may have some applicability for Indians and some Spanish-speaking groups, it is more difficult to apply to the Negro because of the wide range of opinion concerning the existence of a "Negro culture" or Negro "cultural tradition."

Some social theorists define the differences among the experiences of various minority groups in American history on the basis of the characteristics of the economy at the time that each group sought full equality of opportunity. The greater difficulties faced by the Irish at mid-century, as contrasted to those of East Europeans at the end of the century, are often explained in terms of the circumstances of the national economy.

More demanding of our attention, however, is the notion of color. None of the other "minority groups" had skins dark enough to arouse a strong sense of color consciousness. But today, the Spanish-speaking and Indians are demanding removal of unjust barriers to their economic development at a time of national social tension over the matter of color. A case is sometimes made for the role of color in discrimination on the basis of studies which show that Negroes, in spite of educational levels not yet attained by Mexican-Americans in the Southwest, generally have higher unemployment rates, lower annual incomes, and are less well represented in "white collar" occupations:

Table I
Minority Distribution in White-Collar Jobs in
Predominantly Negro and Mexican-American
Counties in five S.W. States

<u>% in white-collar jobs</u>	<u>"Negro Counties"</u>	<u>"Mexican-Amer. counties"</u>	<u>All S.W. counties</u>
of all employees	48.9	50.7	50.3
of Negroes	15.3	20.0	16.4
of Mexican-Americans	19.9	20.1	21.1
of all minorities	20.5	23.1	22.2

Data Source: EEO-1 Forms, 1966. Table compiled: Fred H. Schmidt, University of California, Los Angeles

Table II

**Urban Employment Survey: Selected Comparative Data for
Working-Age Population in CEP Areas in Houston
and East and South Central Los Angeles**

<u>Population</u>	<u>Houston CEP Area</u>	<u>Los Angeles CEP Area</u>
Negro	63%	41.5%
Mexican-American	21%	46.3%
<i>Education (median years completed)</i>		
Negro	10.7	11.8
Mexican-American	7.6	9.2
<i>Annual Income (median for families of 2 or more persons)</i>		
Negro	\$4,700	\$5,600
Mexican-American	\$6,000	\$6,500
<i>Unemployment Rates</i>		
Negro	9.5%	16.2%
Mexican-American	6.5%	6.1%

Source: Department of Labor, 1970

No attempt is made here to endorse a complete explanation of these differentials, as there are too many variables that would have to be evaluated. Irrespective of other variables, however, there is no doubt that color is a new factor significantly differentiating the experiences of contemporary minority groups from those of previous minority groups.

That color alone cannot explain present day discrimination should be evident from the experiences of another "cultural minority" in the U.S. not discussed in this book—Orientals on the West Coast, particularly "Japanese-Americans." The Japanese who came to and remained in the United States did not become sustained victims of poverty and discrimination like many Negroes, Spanish-speaking, and Indians. Even among those Japanese who were poor, many of the characteristics often associated with an economically deprived or subordinated group (crime, low educational level, unemployment) were not present to the same degree. A look at the history of Japanese immigration into the U.S., as well as the economic and cultural history preceding it, might suggest other areas for consideration in trying to understand discrimination and the problems of minority groups:

- the strength of a minority group's cultural history and tradition
- the degree and kind of conflict between the "minority group" and the "dominant society"
- the history of the economic base of the minority group
- the degree of similarity between the cultural values of a "minority group" and those of the "dominant society" (value fit)

Recognizing the difficulty in differentiating the "cultural" traits which handicap people from the prejudice they suffer, the following is a list of general statements concerning areas of difference among the three groups under discussion:

1. The age structure of the Spanish-speaking is much younger than that of the Negro.
2. There is a much higher labor force participation rate among Negro women than among Spanish-speaking women. Generally, Spanish-speaking women have lower participation rates than Anglo women.
3. A high proportion of Negro women are "heads of households." Spanish-speaking women are less likely to be "heads of households" than Anglo women.
4. Negroes have completed, on the average, more years of school than Spanish-speaking peoples.
5. Negroes face greater color discrimination than Spanish-speaking or Indians. However, because of a national color consciousness, both Indians and Spanish-speaking tend to suffer an unusual amount of color discrimination. This is due to a prevailing attitude that any degree of color puts an individual into a category of "nonwhite."
6. Indians seem least interested, among the three groups, in becoming integrated into the mainstream of American life, although a small, but vocal, number of Negroes express a lack of interest in integration.
7. Indians, in contrast to the other two groups, have a special relationship with the Federal government.
8. Indians and the Spanish-speaking have a unique history of violent conflict with members of the "dominant" or Anglo society, wherein their economic land bases were eroded. They were impoverished and economically subordinated as a group, as a result of their struggle against Anglos; whereas Negroes, being slaves, were in a subordinate position from the moment of their forced arrival in America.
9. Puerto Ricans, because of their cultural and racial history, and because of their concentration in New York City, generally experience a greater sense of conflict or competition with Negroes, than do Mexican-Americans or Indians.
10. Puerto Ricans maintain closer ties to Puerto Rico than so-called "Mexican-Americans" maintain with Mexico.

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THE INDIAN

Introduction

The Indian has enjoyed and suffered from the protection of the U.S. government in a unique way never granted to nor inflicted upon the Spanish-speaking or the Negro. Nonetheless, the Indian population, including the Eskimo and Aleut of Alaska, is the most economically disadvantaged of the three minority groups under discussion.

When Columbus arrived in 1492, the native population of what is now the U.S. is traditionally estimated to have been between 1,000,000 and 3,000,000. As old evidence is reevaluated however, and in light of new evidence, these figures have begun to rise. Some recent estimates number the Indian and Eskimo population between Mexico and the Arctic from 9,800,000 to 12,500,000 at the time of Columbus.

At any rate, the Indian population of the 48 contiguous United States fell to an all-time low of less than 250,000 between 1850 and 1910. Today, while there are no definitive statistics for the U.S. Indian population, estimates vary between 652,000 and 1,000,000, including approximately 26,000 Eskimo and 9,000 Aleut in Alaska. Indians therefore represent from .34 percent to about .47 percent of the total U.S. population. Both the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and Vine Deloria, Jr., former Executive Director of the National Congress of American Indians, estimate that between 400,000 and 450,000 Indians are living on reservations today. BIA, however, estimates that only about 200,000 Indians are living in urban areas, while Deloria's estimate is 500,000, with an additional 100,000 living in scattered Eastern bands (neither "reservation" nor "urban"). The discrepancy between the two is the difference between saying that two-thirds of all Indians live on reservations (BIA) and are therefore eligible for BIA services; and two-thirds of all Indians live off reservations (Deloria) and are therefore, with some exceptions, not eligible for BIA services.

By nearly all accounts, the Indians of North America have been the most observed, studied, described, categorized, and written about of all major aboriginal groups of people in the world. Unfortunately perhaps, cultural anthropologists are not so concerned with compiling the hard data of contemporary economic and social indices. And because the BIA exists primarily to serve "reservation" or trust-land Indians, very little definitive data is available about the 200,000 to 600,000 "urban" or off-reservation Indians.

Indians Today - Who and Where Are They?

The name "Indian" came into use when Columbus and his companions mistakenly thought they had landed in the fabled "Indies" or India of Asia. Similarly, the name "Eskimo" is reported to have been coined by a European Jesuit in the early 17th century, who heard neighboring "Indians" refer to them as "eskimantsik"—meaning "eaters of raw fish."

There is no general legislative or judicial definition of "an Indian." For Census purposes, Indians have been identified on a self-declaration basis. To be designated as an Indian eligible for BIA services, however, an individual must live on or near a reservation or other trust land under the jurisdiction of the Bureau (total of about 53 million acres under trust: 38.9 for tribes, 11 for individual Indians, and about 4 million government-owned acres in Alaska for use by Alaskan "Natives"); be a member of a tribe, band, or group of Indians recognized by the Federal government; and, for some purposes, be of one-fourth or more Indian descent. By legislative and administrative action, the Aleut and Eskimo of Alaska, most of whom do not live on trust land, are eligible for BIA services. There is little tribal community land or individually allotted Indian, Aleut, or Eskimo land in Alaska. In fact, only about 10 percent of the Alaskan "Natives" live on restricted land, most of which is neither tribal nor allotted, but government-owned.

According to the BIA, a "tribe" among North American Indians originally meant a body of persons bound together by kinship or blood ties who were socially, politically, and religiously organized; who lived together, occupying a definite territory; and who spoke a common language or dialect. With the placing of Indians on "reservations," the word "tribe" developed a number of different meanings. It may mean a distinct group within an Indian village or community, the entire community, a large number of communities, several different villages speaking different languages but sharing a common government, or a widely scattered number of villages with a common language, but no common government.

The BIA counts 263 "tribes," "bands," "pueblos," etc., in the 48 contiguous States and 300 "Native Alaskan communities" as being eligible for Federal services. These 563 community areas are located on approximately 282 Indian reservations and 38 other scattered pieces of land maintained under trust for Indians, Aleut, and Eskimo.

Indian "tribes" with trust lands under Federal jurisdiction are scattered throughout the country (see Figure 1), although a preponderance is found west of the Mississippi. The following is a September 1968 list, in descending order, of States with significant Indian populations served by the BIA:

<u>State</u>	<u>Total Reservation Indian (Aleut or Eskimo) Population</u>	<u>Major Tribal Groups</u>
Arizona	105,900	Navajo, Apache, Hopi, Pima, Papago, Yuma
New Mexico	74,500	Apache (Jicarilla and Mescalero), Navajo
Oklahoma	72,400	29 tribes, including Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Seminole, Miami, Pawnee, Apache
Alaska	55,400	Indian (Tlingit, Haida, Tsimshian, Athapascan); Eskimo; Aleut
South Dakota	30,000	Sioux
Montana	23,100	Blackfeet, Crow, Salish, Kootenai, Gros Ventre, Assiniboine, Sioux
Washington	16,000	Colville, Yakima
North Dakota	13,600	Chippewa, Hidatsa, Arikara, Mandan, Sioux
Minnesota	10,400	Chippewa, Sioux, Winnebago
California	6,600	Cahuilla, Serrano, Yuma, Mohave
Wisconsin	6,500	Chippewa (Ojibway), Potawatomi, Winnebago, Stockbridge-Munsee, Oneida, Menominee

<u>State</u>	<u>Total Reservation Indian (Aleut or Eskimo) Population</u>	<u>Major Tribal Groups</u>
Utah	5,700	Ute, Gosiute, Navajo
Idaho	5,100	Coeur d'Alene, Shoshone, Bannock, Kootenai, Nez Perce
North Carolina	4,600	Eastern Cherokee
Nevada	4,400	Shoshone, Paiute, Washoe, Ute

Indians Today - Social and Economic Characteristics

Keeping in mind that there can be no definitive "economic and social characteristics" data about people for whom there is no definitive demographic data, the following presents an overall picture of the quality of life for reservation Indians.

In 1968 the average age at death was reported to have been approximately 44 years for reservation Indians, as contrasted to a national average of 65 years. There has been much improvement in the health area in the last couple years. Today an Indian baby can expect to live to age 63.8, while the average life expectancy for the total U.S. population is estimated to be 70.2. In 1968, the average per capita cash income for reservation Indians was \$900. It is probably on this basis that numerous accounts of the economic conditions of Indians report that the median annual income for a reservation "family" is \$1800 (2 persons make up a "family"—for statistical purposes only). The incidence of tuberculosis on reservations is reported to be between 5 and 7 times the national average. Suicide rates average three times the national average and, on some reservations, have been found to be ten times higher, with a disproportionate rate of occurrence among adolescents.

Reservation Indians are the most poorly educated minority group in the U.S. At present, approximately 57 percent of all reservation children are in public schools, while about 33 percent are in BIA schools and another 5 percent in mission and other private schools. The average number of school years completed is 5.5, behind both Negroes and Spanish-speaking. Between 50 and 60 percent drop out before high school graduation. It should be noted here that since World War II, there has been considerable migration from the reservations. This migration has been selective, in that there has been a greater tendency for the better-educated to migrate than the less educated. In 1963, the median years of schooling for a representative sample of those leaving the reservation was 10.6 years.

When unemployment rates for American Indians are being discussed, it is important to realize that the traditional tools used for measuring unemployment may not be applicable. The difficulty of gaging Indian unemployment rates is due to the large proportion of Indians who are not in the labor force. While the average U.S. labor force participation in 1969 was approximately 60 percent, the corresponding rate for five sample reservations averaged about 40 percent. This disparity appears to be due to the reluctance of many Indians to seek employment. Among the reasons given most often for their lack of jobseeking were 1) ill health or physical handicap, 2) family responsibility, and 3) lack of necessary schooling, training, or experience.

Such figures as are available from the BIA and elsewhere, have indicated a range of unemployment from 12 percent to 74 percent, with an average around 40 percent. During the winter season in some areas of the country, the unemployment rate reached 90 percent. On the largest reservation - the Navajo - 85 percent of the potential work force was considered to be unemployed or underemployed in 1966.

Although there has been progress in industrial development on the reservation since 1963 (e.g. there were 6 factories on the Navajo Reservation in 1963 and 110 in 1968), certain barriers have had a depressing effect on it. One of the primary

barriers is transportation. While quantitative data are not available concerning the total number of miles of railroads on or adjacent to Indian reservations, in 1969 ten reservations, containing over half of the total reservation Indian population, had no railroads running through or in close proximity to them.

The situation of the 55,000 "Alaskan Natives" (Aleut, Eskimo, and Indian) is even more depressing. Comprising 20 percent of the State's population, they have a tuberculosis rate 20 times that for the U.S. as a whole. The average age at death is reported by the Civil Rights Commission to be 34 years. According to the BIA, about 7,100 of the total 7,500 dwellings need repairs. The problem seems to be their inability to get loans because they do not have titles to their land. At present the Natives are engaging in a legal battle with the U.S. government for ownership of 90 percent of Alaska.

According to the 1960 Census, seven out of ten adults had less than an elementary school education. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights reports that in the summer of 1969 there were only three high schools to serve 30,000 Natives throughout the State. Only a fraction of one percent had completed four or more years of college.

Due to lack of education and seasonal work patterns, more than half of the Native work force is jobless most of the year, and only one-fourth has continuing employment. These rates of unemployment are the highest in the U.S.

History of the Indian in the U.S.

Indians were sacrifices offered up to the great cause of civilization, which, in the natural course of things, must exterminate Indians.

—Government official, 1858

The more I see of these Indians, the more convinced I am that they all have to be killed or be maintained as a species of paupers.

—General William Tecumseh Sherman, 1867

For many decades the Indians were thought of, and they thought of themselves, as a dying race. Indian law had presumed the cessation of Indians. . .[in 1934] the basis of Indian law was altered. . .The changed law presumed their permanence and increases.

—from Annual Report for the Secretary of the Interior, 1936

It is not possible in the space of this booklet to detail the history of the Indians by individual tribe or even by language group. What is important to understand historically however, for purposes of trying to understand their contemporary situation, is that Indians have been in long, fairly continuous, and often violent conflict (400 years) with the European or "white" settlers of the "New World" and with the U.S. government which those settlers eventually came to represent. Most of the conflict, historically, was over land. To the Europeans, the fact of "discovery" conferred the right of exclusive land ownership. Thus by purchase, conquest, and the system of trusteeship the Indians lost their land. Through a series of treaties made between 1778 and 1871, Indians ceded to the federal government nearly a billion acres of land. Since then Indian holdings have dropped from about 140 million acres to about 53 million, where they stand today.

The New England Puritans did not face a so-called "Indian problem" at first. Diseases brought by earlier trading ships had badly decimated the Indian population. When the Pequots, however, resisted the migration of settlers into the Connecticut Valley in 1637, some of the Puritans surrounded the Pequot village and set fire to it. About 500 Indians are reported to have burned to death or been shot while trying to escape.

The Puritans were much less kind and much less successful in their dealings with Indians than were the Spaniards or French. This is sometimes explained by the fact that the Puritans insisted upon a high and rigid standard of religious devotion that the Indians were unwilling to give. It is said that conversion of the natives was not one of the compelling motives—or justification—for the Puritan settling of New England, as it was for the Spaniards in the Southwest.

The desire of the new settlers to occupy Indian lands, and the continuing rivalry between French and English traders for the furs gathered by the Indians, led to many skirmishes and several bloody wars which involved Indians on both sides. These battles culminated in the French and Indian War of 1763, which was disastrous to many Indian groups in the northeastern part of North America.

Peter Farb, in his 1968 book about North American Indians, tells us more:

In May 1763, an Ottawa warrior by the name of Pontiac fell upon Detroit and captured the English forts, one after the other. The relative advantages of hunting Indians down with dogs or infecting them with smallpox were debated. Dogs were not available, so officers distributed among the Indians handkerchiefs and blankets from the smallpox hospital at Fort Pitt. . .

The Indian came to be regarded as a stubborn animal that refused to acknowledge the obvious blessings of white civilization. The idea of the Blood Thirsty Savage took hold, and the same relentless pattern was repeated—across Pennsylvania, Ohio, Virginia, and Kentucky, across the whole western frontier as the new United States came into being. . .

Following the War of 1812, the young U.S. had no further need for Indian allies against the British, and as a result the fortunes of the Indians declined rapidly. By 1848, twelve new States had been carved out of the Indians' lands, two major and many minor Indian wars had been fought and group after group of Indians had been herded westward, on forced marches, across the Mississippi River.

...President Andrew Jackson had been reared on the frontier and he was utterly insensitive to the treatment of the Indians. He denounced as an "absurdity" and a "farce" that the U.S. should bother even to negotiate with Indians as if they were independent nations with a right to their lands. He was completely in sympathy with the policy of removal of the Indians to new lands west of the Mississippi. He exerted his influence to make Congress pass the Removal Act of 1830, which gave the President the right to extirpate all Indians who had managed to survive east of the Mississippi River. It was estimated that the whole job might be done economically at no more than \$500,000—the costs to be kept low by persuasion, promises, threats, and the bribery of Indian leaders. . .

During the next ten years, almost all Indians were cleared from the East. Some went resignedly, but many others left only at bayonet point. The Seminole actively resisted and some retreated into the Florida swamps, where they stubbornly held off the U.S. Army. The Seminole Wars lasted from 1835 to 1842 and cost the U.S. some 1,500 soldiers and an estimated \$20,000,000 (about 40 times what Jackson had estimated it would cost to remove all Indians). Many of the Iroquois sought sanctuary in Canada, and the Oneida and the Seneca moved westward, although fragments of Iroquois tribes managed to remain behind in western New York. The Sac and Fox made a desperate stand in Illinois against overwhelming numbers of Whites, but ultimately their survivors also were forced to move, as were the Ottawa, Potawatomie, Wyandot, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Winnebago, Delaware, Peoria, Miami, and many others who are remembered now only in the name of some town, lake, county, or State. . .

All in all, an estimated seventy thousand Indians are believed to have been resettled west of the Mississippi, but the number may have been closer to one hundred thousand. No figures exist, though, as to the numbers massacred before they could be persuaded to leave the East, or on the tremendous losses suffered from disease, exposure, and starvation on the 1,000-mile march westward across an unsettled and inhospitable land.

The great removal was not the panacea that its advocates in Congress had maintained it would be. Families had been separated, and many Indians had died enroute. The new lands were much less hospitable to farming than those the Indians had been forced to evacuate, and the different game animals required new skills to hunt. To make matters worse, there was the hostility of the Plains Indians, who had been inveigled into giving up some of their lands to make room for the eastern

Indians. The Plains Indians asserted that the bison had been driven away by the newcomers, and clashes between various groups became increasingly common. . . The U.S. government no more honored its obligation to protect the Indians in their new territory than it had honored any of its previous obligations toward them. . .

No sooner were the eastern Indians dropped down on the plains than the U.S. discovered the resources in the West, and miners and settlers were on the move. Emigrant trains rambled across the plains, and once again the aim of the frontiersman was to get the Indian out of the way. . . The "final extermination" was hastened by [smallpox and cholera] epidemics that swept the West and sapped the Indians' power to resist the Whites. . .

Up to 1868, nearly four hundred treaties had been signed by the U.S. government with various Indian groups, and scarcely a one had remained unbroken. By the latter part of the last century, the Indians finally realized that these treaties were real-estate deals designed to separate them from their lands. In the last three decades of the 19th century, Indians and Whites skirmished and then fought openly with ferocity and barbarity on both sides. Group by group, the Indians rose in rebellion only to be crushed—the southern Plains tribes in 1874, the Sioux in 1876, the Nez Perce in 1877, the Cheyenne and Bannock in 1878, the Ute in 1879, and the Apache throughout much of the 1880's. . . These wars represented the final spasms of a people who had long before been defeated logically and psychologically. General William Tecumseh Sherman attributed the final victory of the U.S. Army to the railroads, which were able to transport his troops as far in one day as they had been able formerly to march in a month. General Phil Sheridan, on the other hand, had urged the destruction of the bison herds. . . by 1885 the bison were virtually extinct, and the Indian Wars finally ended; the U.S. government had spent. . . about one million dollars for every Indian killed by 1870. . .

In the eastern part of the country after the Civil War, a concern for the. . . Indian replaced concern for the Negro. . . A 'well-intentioned' movement gained support to give the remnant Indian populations the dignity of private property, and the plan was widely promoted in the halls of Congress, in the press, and in the meetings of religious societies. As a result, Senator Henry L. Dawes of Massachusetts sponsored the Dawes Allotment Act of 1887; he hoped it might salvage something for the Indians, who, he felt, would otherwise lose everything to voracious Whites. . . The Act provided that after every Indian had been allotted land, any remaining surplus would be put up for sale to the public.

The loopholes with which the Dawes Act was punctured made it an efficient instrument for separating the Indians from the land.

The Allotment Act was designed to divide reservation lands in severalty among the residents. An Indian could obtain forty acres of irrigable land, eighty acres of unirrigable land, and 160 acres of grazing land. Surplus lands, not allotted to Indians, were opened to white settlement. But because nothing was done to encourage Indians to acquire the management skills needed to handle their individual land allotments, and because they were not accustomed to thinking of land as a commodity, they were easily swindled out of their allotments.

It is generally accepted today that the main notion behind the Allotment Act was to force the Indian to give up his tribal and "traditional" ways and become like everyone else. By investing him with "private property," his integration into the rest of the society was expected to be hastened. In 1924, the Indian Citizens Act was passed, making all noncitizen Indians American citizens with full rights and privileges. But when the Merriam Report of 1928 showed that the Indians were in a desperate situation and that there had been no "progress" on the reservations, the U.S. government sought new ways to resolve the "Indian problem."

In 1934 the Wheeler-Howard Indian Reorganization Act was passed. Tribes were given status as Federal corporations, allotment was stopped and efforts were made to rebuild the land base. Tribal governments, with their first taste of self-government in 50 years, voted to allocate a substantial portion of tribal income to buy back the allotments of

individual Indians, thereby planning to hold some land in Indian hands forever. Indians began to revive traditional customs and appeared to be making progress until World War II forced a reduction in domestic spending.

The "Indian assimilation" policy became attractive once again, as Congress went about its search to reduce expenditures. This led to the policy of the 1950's commonly known as "termination." The terminationists, with the aim of "equality before the law," thought that Indians should be "free" like all other American citizens. Being "free" meant that there should be a "termination" to the unique and "overprotective" relationship which existed between the United States and its Indian Tribes. The terminationists said that such a "paternalistic" system of special treatment was really demeaning to the Indians.

While the idea of "freeing" the Indians fit in with the expanding Civil Rights movement of the period, it in fact did nothing but dissipate tribal capital and destroy the abilities and therefore the rights of Indian tribes to maintain their own communities. One example: The Menominees owned a forest in Wisconsin in which they operated a tribal sawmill in order to provide employment for tribal members, rather than make a profit. The tribe spent most of its income on social services, supporting its own hospital and providing its own law enforcement on the reservation.

Termination of Federal supervision meant an immediate tax bill of 55 percent on the sawmill. To meet this, the saw mill had to be automated, thus throwing a substantial number of Indians out of work and onto the unemployment rolls. To meet the rising unemployment, the sawmill, being the only industry, had to be taxed by the country. There was an immediate spiral downward in the capital structure of the tribe so that, in the years since the termination bill was passed, it has had to receive some \$10 million in special state and federal aid.

Although "termination" is no longer a policy of the federal government, its recent memory still casts a threatening shadow over the reservations. It is probably safe to say that most Indians who still live on reservations believe that "termination" means destruction of the Indians as a different people. Without the BIA, with whatever weaknesses it has, reservation Indians feel that they would have little chance of maintaining their "way of life."

Social and Cultural Aspects of Indian Life

When Indians are discussed by various chroniclers, anthropologists, and social commentators, they are often categorized in one or more of the following ways:

- by tribe or tribal grouping
- by language group
- by economic system
- by geographical location
- by social (and political) organizational system

As previously indicated, there are 263 tribes recognized by the BIA for its services. In addition, there are approximately 50 tribal groups which are outside direct BIA jurisdiction.

When Indians are classified by language group, there are eight major groups: Algonquian, Iroquian, Caddoan, Muskogean, Siouan, Penutian, Athapaskan, and Uto-Aztec. Within these groups, however, there are close to 100 distinct languages or dialects of language.

When Indians are classified historically on a geographical basis and by economic system, there are also eight groups (see Figure 1):

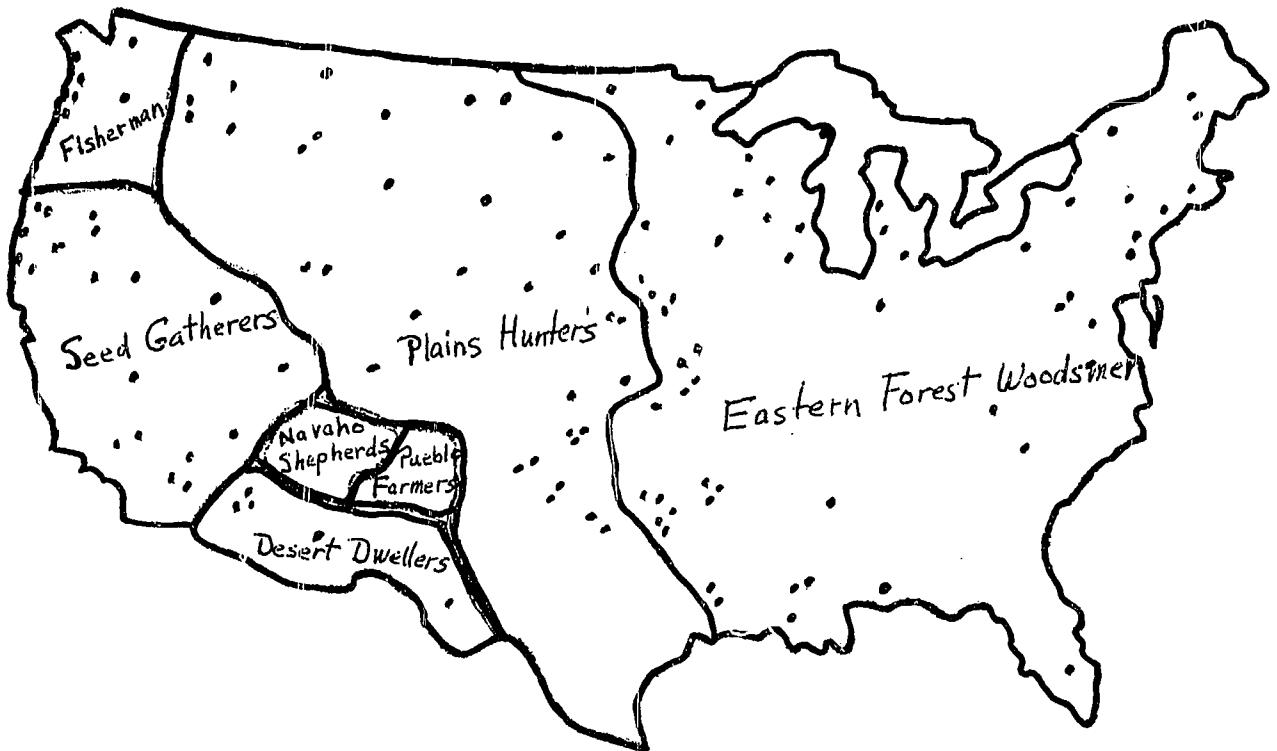


Figure 1: Approximate Locations of Indian Tribes Today (Alaska not included)
Source: BIA, 1969

1. Eastern woodsmen - hunters, fishermen, berry-pickers
2. hunters of the Plains - hunted buffalo after acquiring horses from the Spanish in the Southwest
3. northern fishermen - Pacific northwest coast
4. seed gatherers of California, Nevada, and Utah
5. Navajo shepherds of Arizona
6. Pueblo farmers of New Mexico
7. desert dwellers of southern Arizona and New Mexico
8. woodsmen and fishermen of Alaska

Another popular method of classification is by social organization, such as the "band," with both single nomadic families and composites of families; the "tribe," with layers of family, clan and tribal allegiances; the "chiefdom," with its layers of allegiances plus an individual rank-and-status hierarchy; and the "state," with its complex organizational system of institutionalized specialities and its "institutionalized" right to use force.

But whatever the method of categorization, the number of variations in tradition, outlook, and viewpoint makes difficult the development of a brief overview of Indian cultural life. As a more practical matter, the same differences make difficult the emergence of a unified Indian leadership.

Generally speaking, there are a number of similarities between the basic cultural values of Indians and the cultural values of the Spanish-speaking, as discussed in a later section. This is because both are examples of "folk culture"—with that of the Indian being most dramatically juxtaposed to "modern industrial culture."

There are social and political commentators, particularly among Indian spokesmen, who feel that too much has been made of observing and describing the "traditionalism," the exotic "folkways," and the "biculturalism" of Indians. If alcoholism is a problem among Indians, and if this can be explained by showing that Indians are people "caught between two cultures" or people whose traditional religions embodied "visions," what is gained in terms of alleviating the problem? Such critics feel that too much discussion about the "unique cultural aspects" of Indian life leads to making "excuses" and "apologies" for Indians and leads Indians to make excuses and apologies for themselves. The possibility for imaginative solutions to problems and for change is thereby diminished.

There is some validity to this criticism. The danger lies in dwelling so much on the "fact of a folk culture" and the "dilemma of biculturalism," that one begins to think that the two "cultures" are incompatible. One is left with a choice between "traditional" or "modern," and in discussing the relative merits of each, he wastes time that should be spent in developing creative ideas as to how the Indian "way of life" can become a part of the modern American "way of life." This is true not only for the Indian, but the Mexican-American, the Puerto Rican, or any other "culturally different" group.

Keeping in mind that our responsibility goes beyond merely observing and describing the ways of Indian life; and that understanding the existence and nature of something is only the first step toward doing something about it, if need be; we will briefly generalize about certain Indian values and attitudes.

Basic to the understanding of Indians and Indian attitudes is the continuation of "tribalism"; the "clan" and other aspects of a "kinship system"; language; and concepts pertaining to 1) time and leisure, 2) property rights, 3) cooperation and competition, 4) reticence and articulation, 5) sharing-in-the-present and saving-for-the-future, 6) respect for the aged, and 7) status of the individual in society.

The Indian is more likely to live primarily in the present, with little concern for the future. This concept is consistent throughout religion, language, and philosophy of life. Punctuality is a habit developed either by motivation or discipline, or perhaps a combination of both. In modern American culture, punctuality is not just a desirable quality, but a "moral" standard. This is generally not true in Indian culture, since many are not oriented to the future. Motivation usually comes first with only more immediate goals.

To many Indians, life is a moving with nature. Therefore land is rarely regarded as a commodity. It "belongs" to anyone who wants to use it. The only one who has no right to a parcel of land is the one who abuses it. Land is no more a personal possession than is air or sunlight or any other "part" of nature.

Some Indian tribes are traditionally individualistic and competitive, but most of the Indians have survived because of the cooperative attitudes of their tribes. They worked and shared together in large families, in clans, in tribes, and with neighboring tribes. In general, they valued sharing and cooperation more than individual differences and competition. Seldom would an individual Indian be singled out for special recognition or praise.

The basic similarities of Spanish and Indian cultural value systems are depicted on the next page. These value systems are compared with the modern American industrial value system for purposes of demonstrating where culture conflict (not irreconcilable) exists and to help identify possible causes for misunderstanding:

COMPARISON OF CULTURE VALUE SYSTEMS

Modern American Industrial

vs.

Indian and Spanish American Folk

Modern Industrial Values

1. *accumulates* wealth or things for better present and future life
2. *saves and plans for rewards in the future*
3. *lives in the future*, gives up immediate pleasures for a better future
4. *competitive*, tries for maximum achievement, engages in individual competition in work, etc.
5. *aggressive* - is a *problem solver*; takes positive action to correct weakness or to get what is needed to improve situation
6. *impatient* - feels an urgency to take action to improve conditions or better life status
7. accepts *majority rule* - generally accepts that the will of the majority must be recognized

Indian and Spanish Folk Values

1. *gives things away* - timeliness and grace of giving are important factors
2. *does not save*, as resources are available, uses them, shares them, or gives them away - would save only for provision of pleasure in immediate future, such as to give a party
3. *present oriented* - today is all important; enjoy today
4. *non-competitive* - generally, workers will gear themselves to the lowest producer in the group. "Team" or "clan"-type spirit prevails.
5. *withdraws* from unwelcome or unpleasant situation; does not push to correct or alleviate conditions
6. *patient* - passive attitude; submissive to nature
7. generally accepts only *unanimous rule* (e.g. an 80 percent majority probably would not influence the other 20 percent to accept the will of the majority)

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THE NEGRO

Introduction

Negroes represent the largest minority group in the United States. In 1969, there were approximately 22,300,000 Negroes in the United States which represents approximately 11 percent of the total population. Even though they represent a substantial segment of the American population, and gains have been made in their economic and social situation in the last two decades, Negroes are still engaged in a struggle to gain equal social and economic status with whites. The following excerpts from the Bureau of Labor Statistics Report No. 375 titled "The Social and Economic Status of Negroes in the United States, 1969," illuminates some of the progress made and gaps which remain in this struggle:

The progress of the Negro toward full social and economic equality with other Americans has been one of the major issues of the 1960's. Impressive progress has been made, but wide discrepancies remain. The statistics indicate once again that the important gains made by Negroes in earlier years in their level of living have been retained and in most instances have increased. They are more likely to be receiving higher incomes, holding better jobs, living in better housing, and finishing high school and college than they were a decade ago. Negroes continue to move into the high status jobs as new opportunities are opened to them. They are also more likely to be working full-time rather than part-time.

However, Negroes are still disadvantaged compared with white Americans in terms of educational and occupational attainment. They are more likely than whites to be among the poor and the disabled and to live in crowded homes in poverty neighborhoods of large cities. Some instances of the progress discernible in 1968, and the existing gaps follow:

INCOME AND POVERTY

In the past eight years, family incomes have generally risen, with percentage gains somewhat higher for Negroes and other races² than for whites. About one out of every three families of Negro and other races had an income of \$8,000 or more in 1968. Negro family income reached an average (median) of \$5,400 in 1968, about double the median at the end of World War II. However, this was only 60 percent of the white family median of \$8,900. In the South, where half of the Negro population lives, the Negro median family income was only half the white level.

In part, income differences reflect the lower educational achievements of the older generation of Negroes. But even with one or more years of college, Negro men 25 to 54 years old have incomes lower than whites. Despite the gains of the past few years, the movement toward income equality is still very slow.

In 1968 there were nearly 25.2 million poor people in the United States, and 3 out of every 10 were of Negro and other races. About 1.5 million poor children of Negro and other races are in households where family income is below the poverty level. In many cases, other family members work, in addition to the family head, without lifting the family out of poverty. About one-sixth of all Negro families with two or more earners are poor. About half of the poor of Negro and other races and approximately one-third of the white poor receive public assistance. Among families with female heads, the incidence of poverty is high—more than half of such families were below the poverty level in 1968. An increasing proportion of families are headed by women, who earn less than men, whether black or white. A Negro woman working all year full time earns only about two-thirds as much as her male counterpart.

²The term "and other races" as used in this introduction, refers to other non-white races.

EMPLOYMENT AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The rise in employment of Negro and other races has continued into 1969. Employment gains for this group averaged about 200,000 a year in the past few years, with the gains concentrated in the upper half of the occupational pyramid—among white collar (notably clerical), craftsmen, and operative jobs. Many Negroes are in business for themselves, most operating small service-oriented businesses. The unemployment rate for Negro and other races was lower in 1968 and 1969 than in any year since the Korean War, and the number of unemployed fell below 600,000 for the first time since 1957. The unemployment rate continues to be about double the rate for whites.

The highest unemployment rates of any group in the labor force are those of teenagers of Negro and other races. To some extent, high teenage unemployment rates reflect the fact that one out of every three of those looking for work is also in school—completing an education rather than replacing it with a permanent occupation. Among heads of households (married men with spouse present), the unemployment rate for Negro and other races in 1969 was 2.5 compared with 1.4 percent for whites.

EDUCATION

The increase in school enrollment is especially noticeable among Negroes, particularly the very young and those at the college level. About 20 percent of children three and four years old of Negro and other races were enrolled in school in 1968. The emphasis on advanced education is reflected in the fact that about 450,000 Negroes are now in college—two-thirds of them in predominantly white institutions. The percent of Negro men 25 to 34 years old completing four or more years of college has increased markedly since 1960. In 1969, 60 percent of Negro men 25 to 29 years old had at least finished high school, compared with about 50 percent in 1966.

RESIDENCE AND MIGRATION

About three-fourths of the total growth in the Negro population since 1960 has occurred in the central cities of the metropolitan areas. As a result, 55 percent of the total Negro population now resides in central cities compared with 26 percent of the white population.

Most of the estimated 2.6 million increase since 1960 in the Negro population in central cities is due to the natural increase of the population—that is, the excess of births over deaths. About one-third of the net gross gain—approximately 800,000 persons—is due to net in-migration. The decline in the white population of central cities, on the other hand, implies a substantial net out-migration of the white population during this period.

While the statistics on income and poverty indicate that Negroes and other races have higher percentage gains than whites, it should be noted that approximately 62 percent of Negro families had incomes under \$7,000 in 1968 (*median income* for white families was \$8,937). This indicates that the most significant gains in Negro income have been in the upper brackets. This supports the economic schism noted by Andrew Brimmer in his paper on Changes in Negroes' Economic Status during the 1960's, which was released in March, 1970. In addition to this schism, Brimmer states that there still remains a large gap between the overall economic situation of the Negro and that of whites.

The size of the family must be considered in evaluating any statistic on economic gains for the Negro. As Andrew Brimmer has noted in the above paper, advances in Negro median income—54 percent of whites in 1957 against 63 percent in 1968—can be considered exaggerated because black families on the average tend to have substantially larger families than white families.

History of the Negro in the U. S.

In keeping with the purpose of this booklet to put into one reference document selected background material as an aid to ES staff in better understanding and hence serving minority group individuals, the following is extracted from *Man and Mankind*, volume VI, prepared under the auspices of UNESCO. It discusses the position of Negroes in the

United States with regard to their struggle for first-class citizenship during the twentieth century, within a framework of

- the historic circumstances of their entrance into American life
- the legal and ideological basis of American society
- the impact of American economic development
- a racial dogma which was originally formulated to reconcile the contradiction between slavery and democracy.

In contrast to the situation on the Caribbean Islands, Negro slaves brought into North America never constituted a large body of workers managed by a handful of white owners or overseers. Except in a few limited areas. . . Negro slaves were interspersed with white settlers.

Scattered in small groups, the slaves imported into the North American colonies had no basis for retaining the relationships, language or culture of their African past. . . American Negroes were culturally the products of the American environment; they took their ideas, values, and patterns of behavior from their white masters and neighbors and adapted them to their own experience as an exploited minority within a democratic society.

The obstacles which they confronted were many. Chief among these was the racial dogma developed during slavery to rationalize the existence of that institution in a basically democratic society. Had slavery been an acceptable institution, it would not have been necessary to ascribe natural inferiority to those who happened to be slaves. But in a society which proclaimed that 'all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights' it was necessary to consider those held in slavery as somehow less than 'men.'

The dogma had two major parts. On the one hand it attributed the dependence, poverty, ignorance and other effects of the conditions imposed upon the Negro to his inherent inferiority. On the other hand it assumed the ethnic integrity of the 'white race.'

After emancipation, in 1863, the doctrine of Negro racial inferiority and white racial purity, devised to justify the institution of slavery, became a rationale for continued prejudice. Its psychological value is assuaging troubled consciences and permitting behavior inconsistent with the principles by which other aspects of life were governed embedded the dogma of racial inferiority deep in the popular mentality. Only slowly did it give way to the impact of contrary evidence produced by scientific investigation, to day-by-day experience in a society where mounting numbers of Negroes functioned ably in positions requiring high levels of responsibility and skill, to the broadening concept of liberalism, and to the shifting world situation with its changed relationship between Europeans and darker peoples. Even in the mid-twentieth century a Negro writer would conclude that "it still offers more resistance to the Negro's progress than all the practical difficulties of social advance combined."

After emancipation, former slaves as well as those born free acquired full citizenship; an 1856 declaration by the Supreme Court that citizenship rights were not meant to apply to persons of color even when free had been erased by the Civil War. Additional amendments to the constitution in the following years explicitly forbade denial of the right to vote on grounds of 'race, color, or previous condition of servitude,' and forbade the states to deny to any citizen the 'equal protection of the laws.'

The federal structure of the United States, however, greatly complicated the legal problem of ensuring full citizenship rights to Negroes, since the general police power, most kinds of authority over the conduct of individuals, control of education, determination of qualifications for voting, and regulations of conditions of employment fell within the domain of the states. Attempts by the federal Congress after the Civil War to assure to Negroes the unrestricted use of public facilities such as inns, eating places and transport were held by the

Supreme Court to be beyond the scope of federal legislation in so far as they applied to the acts of individuals rather than those of official bodies.

Even within the scope of federal authority, moreover, there was the crucial question of whether separation was compatible with equality. The constitution specified 'equal'; it did not specify 'same.' Over the eloquent dissent of one of its members, the Supreme Court in 1896 held that the constitutional requirement of equality might be satisfied by the provision of separate facilities if these were equal in quality to those provided for other citizens. For nearly sixty years this decision enabled the southern states to practice segregation in their systems of education, public parks, public health facilities and the like, and to require that separate facilities be provided in public transport and other services.

By the opening of the twentieth century it was apparent that the struggle for full citizenship would be more complex than it had at first appeared. The elaborate design of subordination developed by the white south confronted the Negro with a pattern of expected and enforced behaviour which placed many practical and psychological blocks in the way of his advance. Southern whites adopted toward all Negroes the manners and attitudes used toward children or servants, and expected or excused childish behaviour, irresponsibility, petty thievery or buffoonery but resented and even punished outward evidence of self-respect which could be interpreted as an assertion of equality, such as a well-painted house or a non-servile manner. They established job ceilings which closed most of the middle range of skilled, factory and clerical occupations and supervisory positions and generally restricted professionals to service to other Negroes. Under the pattern of segregation, Negroes had to sit in colored waiting rooms, travel in colored sections of trains, use service lifts, walk in colored parks, read in colored libraries and attend colored schools.

In the north, segregation was not a matter of principle, but Negroes were simply expected to live in the poorest slums and to fill the lowest jobs. By unsystematic but effective job discrimination, refusal to let or sell housing space, and exclusion from public eating places, Negroes in northern cities were backed into a ghetto-type of existence. And always, south and north, they had to be prepared to meet the stereotype of the lazy, easygoing, irresponsible person of inferior mentality whose slum living, poverty and lack of education were attributed to his 'racial characteristics.' The most industrious, responsible, moral, educated or wealthy Negro individual was not free from the stereotype applied to the group.

The Pattern of Negro Life in the Twentieth Century to 1960

The sharply drawn color line had the effect of solidifying the Negro group in spite of itself, of forcing its advanced members to identify themselves with the Negro masses and become their leaders instead of simply trying to enjoy personal success, and of keeping dark and light together instead of prizing off a privileged mulatto element. It created the presumption, both within the Negro group and without, that each individual must be preoccupied with the fate of the race—he must study the health of Negroes if he were a doctor or their incomes if he were an economist, he must act as a spokesman if he found himself in a mixed group, and be regarded as a symbol, a test case, a representative of his race wherever he went. By thus taking away the private character from the Negro's life it forced all to participate, willy-nilly, in the common struggle for equality of status and for the right to function as unqualified Americans.

The steady advance in education and economic status produced a growing Negro middle class which by mid-century had assumed substantial proportions. Originally the Negro middle class was drawn principally from those who already enjoyed superior advantages at the time of general emancipation and thus had a head start over their fellows in the process of integration into American life.

During the second world war and after, the base was greatly broadened by the combination of wartime wages and benefits from labor gains which enabled many more families to keep their children at school and the educational benefits for war veterans which enabled large numbers of Negro veterans to attend universities and technical schools at government expense. Although the Negro middle class was far more privileged than the Negro masses, it was in some ways subjected to greater psychological strains. Because of its precarious status it

felt the need to conform to middle class standards of conduct, morality and patterns of consumption even more rigorously than did other members of the American middle class. It was under great pressure for success and could not, as could members of the lower class, accept defeat from the start in the unequal battle. Members of the middle class, unsure of acceptance in the broader society, were ambivalent in their own attitudes. Struggling desperately to erase the 'Negro' stereotype from the minds of the whites with whom they had to deal, they were under pressure both to disassociate themselves from the masses whose poverty and its accompanying manifestation confirmed the stereotype, and to defend and aid them since they could never wholly escape identification with the total Negro group. The color line took its psychological toll in other ways. In a society where 'white' carried prestige, color prejudice was reflected within the Negro group; the darker child soon learned that in many subtle ways his less dark fellows were likely to receive more favored treatment—to be cast as hero in a school play, be more popular if a girl, or find the teacher expecting better performance and more ready to recognize it. Constant reminders that he was held in low esteem by others gnawed away at the Negro's own self-respect. Studies during the second quarter of the twentieth century revealed the depth of self-hate which frustration, combined with the negative evaluation of society caused many Negroes to turn in upon themselves. Other psychological studies began to call attention to the equally devastating effect of color prejudice on the personality of the white person, and the added burden imposed upon the Negro by displacement upon him of the white man's sense of guilt.

By the mid-fifties the ground swell towards full participation had become broad and deep. With each passing year it became less possible for those who resisted the full acceptance of Negroes as fellow citizens, workers and neighbors to maintain that they were not ready for full citizenship, that they preferred to remain apart, or that agitators were stirring up a people who were generally content. When in 1955 a tired seamstress riding home on a bus in the southern city of Montgomery, Alabama, was arrested for refusing to surrender her seat to a white passenger and move to the crowded rear of the bus, the entire Negro population of the city remained off the buses for months, until separate seating of whites and Negroes was discontinued by court order.

Passive resistance and boycott were used increasingly in the following years, not only to overcome the opposition of diehards who sought to block execution of the order of the Supreme Court to end segregation in the schools, but to open up all manner of facilities and to tear down the structure of segregation and discrimination wherever it remained. In the north, meantime, Negroes and their collaborators were using political power to secure legislation, making discrimination on grounds of race, religion or nationality illegal in employment, public facilities, education and housing. By 1957 fifteen states had expressly prohibited discrimination in employment, six states had extended the prohibition to all housing which received any form of public aid, and New York City had made it applicable to private housing as well. At the same time individual Negroes in all walks of life, especially those in kinds of jobs or responsibilities which few of their race had formerly filled, strove to demonstrate by their competence the ability of Negroes to perform whatever tasks their individual training and capacities had prepared them for. However modest their outlook and however much they might wish to lead personal, anonymous lives, they knew that they could not escape the burden of being symbols and champions of their race. In the changed climate of American society and the altered world situation the rate of change in the status of the American Negro was greatly accelerated. The transformation of Africa from the dark abode of primitive people into the home of independent nations whose representatives sat shoulder-to-shoulder with the great powers in the United Nations could not fail to have repercussions on the status of Negroes throughout the world. Many American Negroes who had disassociated themselves from their distant African past found the new African states a source of racial pride and self-respect, while more and more whites came to realize that the treatment of the Negro minority in the United States was not a purely domestic matter but one which had a major impact on the foreign policy of the country and the nation's place in world affairs.

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THE SPANISH-SPEAKING

Introduction

A variety of terms have been used to refer to the Spanish-speaking peoples: "Spanish-American," "Spanish-surnamed," "Spanish-heritage," "Mexican-American," "Mejicano," "chicano," "Hispano," "latino," "Puerto Rican," "Cuban," and in Hawaii, "paniolo." Even Department of Labor statistics regarding the Spanish-speaking have been lost, until recently, in a "white-non-white" categorization.

The Spanish-speaking are the second largest minority group in the United States, representing 4.7 percent of the total population. Of this 4.7 percent

- Mexican Americans	55.0%
- Puerto Ricans	15.8%
- Cubans	6.1%
- South Americans, Central Americans &	
Others	23.1%

This booklet will discuss specifically only two of the Spanish-speaking groups: Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans. While both share a basic Spanish language as part of their cultural tradition, there are sufficient differences between them (including differences within the Spanish language) to warrant separate discussion.

Mexican-Americans

The first problem encountered in a discussion of Spanish-speaking groups is one of terminology. Before World War II, all Spanish-speaking people were called "Mexicans" and all English-speaking people "Americans." Because of the ambiguous racial connotation that developed around the word "Mexican," as used by the "Anglo-Americans," the term became offensive to Spanish-speaking people.

The term "Spanish-American" came into being in New Mexico and Colorado around World War II. It appears to be acceptable to the people of that area. The word "Hispano" may be used comfortably among more scholarly circles, particularly in Colorado and New Mexico, although the term has not won very wide acceptance elsewhere.

In Los Angeles, the word "Mexican-American" gained wider usage among professional and business groups, then spread to Arizona and Texas. More recently the term has begun to usurp the time-honored place accorded to "Spanish-American" in both New Mexico and Colorado. Currently "chicano" seems to be the most "popular" term among the young, socially-aware and politically-active. The increasing polarization among the Spanish-speaking in the Southwest is symbolized by the terms "Chicano" and "Hispano." While neither is new, their more subtle meanings have changed.

About 85 percent of all "Mexican-Americans" (a designation used throughout this section, based on birth, parentage, and/or language) live in the five Southwestern States of Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. In

1960, they constituted 11.8 percent of the total population of the Southwest. The following table shows a further breakdown by State:

<u>State</u>	<u>Mexican-Americans as % of State's Population</u>	<u>Mexican-Americans as % of classified "poor"</u>
New Mexico	28.3%	42%
Arizona	14.9%	31%
Texas	14.8%	52%
California	9.1%	19%
Colorado	9.0%	35%

Source: 1960 Census

California and Texas lead in the actual numbers of Mexican-Americans (over 40 percent of all Mexican-Americans in each), while New Mexico has the highest percentage of such persons in relation to the total State population. California, however, continues to attract more and more, while the other four, including Texas show an increasing reduction in their total Mexican-American populations. This is part of the continuing rural-to-urban pattern that began in the 1940's, as Mexican-Americans moved to urban areas where there was great industrial expansion and employment as a result of World War II. Although the American public has developed a new interest in the Spanish-speaking during the last year or so, it is surprising to find a large number of people who still think of Mexican-Americans in a basically rural setting. Over 80 percent live in American cities and towns, with 75 percent in SMSA's. On the other hand, the condition of the dwindling number of Mexican-American workers in agriculture is extremely depressed in comparison with Anglo farmers. In South Texas, for example, they operate farms which are, on the average, half the size, 40 percent the value, and average one-fourth the net income from sale of farm products. In addition, Mexican-American farm household families are, on the average, one-third larger, considerably younger in age structure, and they live on farms with considerably fewer conveniences.

In addition to the internal migration of Mexican-Americans into California, there has also been migration toward the cities of the Midwest and the Southwest. Today, there are more Mexican-Americans in the State of Illinois than in either Colorado or Arizona. Again, the reasons are economic. Under the "bracero" program (1942-1964), with its demand for cheap labor, some 4.8 millions crossed the border (some more than once). During the same period 5.1 million "wetbacks" or illegal aliens came into the United States. They found, however, that agricultural and industrial wages in the Midwest were higher than in the border States. Thus, although most began as migrant farm laborers, many have since become "ex-migrants" in cities such as Milwaukee, Racine, Chicago, Gary, Saginaw, Toledo, Cleveland, Kansas City, Cedar Rapids, and even Miami. Unfortunately, the situation of those who still survive as "campesinos" in the Midwest is only slightly less depressed than in South Texas.

At the time of this writing, there are no current comprehensive data on aggregate unemployment levels and rates for Mexican-Americans. As part of the 1960 Census, unemployment rates compiled for urban areas within the five-State region placed the Mexican-American unemployment rate for males at about one-and-a-half times the overall rate. The urban unemployment rate for all Mexican-Americans was estimated to have been 8.5 percent in 1960, compared with 4.5 percent for Anglos, and 9.1 percent for Negroes. It is widely accepted, however, that these data underestimated the actual extent of unemployment among Mexican-Americans. In 1966, a special Department of Labor survey of a Mexican-American section of San Antonio showed that 46 percent of the men were unemployed, underemployed, or earning less than \$60 per week.

In terms of statistical indices measuring socio-economic welfare in the Southwest, generally speaking, California sets the upper boundaries and Texas sets the lower limits. Basically, the indices show that Mexican-Americans are far less educated than either Anglo or Negro Americans, but that they are better paid than Negroes. The greatest problem in the Mexican-American community appears to be—statistically-speaking—education. For many Mexican-Americans, cultural differences impede education and economic advances more than racial discrimination.

In an effort to better understand the Spanish-speaking peoples of the Southwest and the Midwest, one should keep in mind that there are substantial differences among the States in history, racial composition, dialect of Spanish, rural-urban residence, and degree of involvement with Anglo-American culture. Some have generalized the differences in impact of the Spanish culture upon the Southwest by saying it is tolerated in Texas and Colorado; highly regarded in New Mexico; misunderstood in Arizona; and has been exploited in California.

Unfortunately in this booklet, we will not be able to review in detail the differences in Mexican-American historical and cultural development in each of the five Southwestern States or in the Midwest States into which so many Mexican-Americans have migrated. What follows is a very general overview, with only occasional references to individual State differences. The important fact to notice in the following historical brief is the pattern of conflict, sometimes bloody, which characterized past contacts between the two cultural groups—the Mexican-Indian-Spanish peoples and the Anglos. Understanding something about the nature of this historical conflict will help in understanding some of the present problems and conditions of Mexican-Americans throughout the country.

History of the Mexican-American in the United States

Spanish-speaking people came into what is now New Mexico in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. As their population increased, they spread along the Rio Grande River, living in small rural farming villages. By the 1850's they had settled communities over much of what is now the American Southwest. The area was ruled by Spain until Mexico achieved independence in 1821. But by 1853, the United States had acquired, by purchase, by chicanery, and by force, nearly one million square miles of Mexican territory.

The Mexican-American War was ended with the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848, which established the boundaries between the two countries. The inhabitants of the territories ceded to the U.S. were given the option of accepting U.S. citizenship or of remaining loyal to Mexico and therefore moving to another area. The treaty obligated the U.S. to give full credit to ownership of land, mineral rights of the Spanish. In addition to the fact that the treaty did not guarantee language and cultural rights, Mexican-Americans have since asserted that the land grants protection and other rights guaranteed by the treaty have been consistently violated. By the beginning of the twentieth century, most States had enacted language laws which inhibited Mexican-American participation in voting and judicial processes and in the schools. Only in March of 1970, did California strike from its statutes an English-literacy requirement which prevented Spanish-speaking citizens of California from voting.

Economic Life of the Mexican-American Village

Mexican-Americans settled in rural farm villages located on land grants originally secured from the Spanish and Mexican governments. The average village consisted of a cluster of individually-owned adobe houses built around a central plaza. Isolated formerly by Indian raids and by impassable roads, the inhabitants of a village were forced to rely upon their own cultural and economic resources.

The village economy was built around a subsistence agriculture, based upon the farming of small strips of irrigated farm land and the grazing of livestock upon the communal grazing lands (*ejidos*) of the land grant. Except for iron and salt each village was virtually self-sufficient.

The Mexican-Americans' village economy system was eventually destroyed through the erosion of its land base. From the 1880's until about 1910, the Mexican-Americans lost nearly all of their grazing land to the Anglos. Soil erosion, the incorporation of village "ejidos" into U.S. National Parks ("trespassing livestock impounded"), drought, archaic farming methods and a rapidly increasing population forced more and more Mexican-Americans into the migrant labor stream.

Another destructive economic force in the Mexican-American village was the shifting of the local village economy from a subsistence agricultural, local handicrafts, and barter basis to a credit economy. Anglo American merchants gradually opened retail and wholesale stores in the villages. When the crops and livestock were ready to market, the surplus was sold to the merchant at a price set by him. The villager knew nothing of price fluctuations, of depression,

of prosperity, or of the law of supply and demand. The merchants often built up large landholdings by foreclosing on the lands and homes of villagers unable to pay their accounts.

The depression of the 1930's and the drought which destroyed crops for several years, further reduced the vitality of Mexican-American economic life. The village populations were rescued from near starvation only by massive government aid programs. The psychological results were quite destructive. Large numbers of Mexican-Americans lost faith in their ability to meet their needs in traditional ways. Sinking into apathy and cultural shock, they fell back upon welfare as a way of life. Reluctantly and bitterly, thousands of others began to move from the villages toward the city.

Social and Cultural Life

The social structure of the village was a simple one. Each village was inhabited by a number of large patriarchal families. The family consisted of three or four generations living in the same residence or section of the village. Some of the smaller villages were inhabited by members of a single large patriarchal family. The family was composed of the grandfather, the family patriarch, his wife, their married sons and their wives and children. The family worked and cooperated under the direction of the grandfather as a single economic, social, and cultural unit. The grandfather represented the family in its relationships with village, country, and State authorities, and with other village families.

The *comadrazgo* or godfather system was used to strengthen bonds between related families and between family heads and other individuals in the village. Within the family the male members had more authority than did the women and younger family members who were expected to obey the older members of the family. The wife was expected to be submissive, obedient, and long suffering. A good wife seldom left her home except in the company of her family. Her husband was free to come and go as he pleased. The wife, although subordinate, was not subjugated. She was loved and respected by her children. At times, children feared their fathers, and in many Mexican-American homes the mother and children were united in a tacit conspiracy to conceal family matters from the father.

Brothers were expected to protect their sisters. All cousins were treated as brothers and sisters, and uncles and aunts were as one's own parents. The younger children were reared and disciplined by their mother. The boys, upon reaching puberty, were defined as men, and their care and discipline then passed into the hands of the father. The mother could advise and counsel her sons, but they were seldom controlled by her wishes after puberty. If the father were to die, the oldest son became the head of the family.

The importance of the family among the Mexican-Americans was enhanced by the fact that it carried on most of the functions of welfare, education, social control, religion, recreation, politics, and production and consumption of goods and services. It was the foundation—the psychic nexus—of Mexican-American life.

The structure of the Mexican-American family, enshrined in tradition and religion, and protected by physical and cultural isolation, was seriously weakened by the destruction of the subsistence village agricultural economy. Migration scattered Spanish-speaking families throughout the West. Efforts have been made, however, to maintain strong and intimate kinship relations. Individuals encountering unemployment and financial problems still count upon the assistance of other family members. Orphans and widows were taken in and assisted. In summary, the family still plays an important role in social control and in meeting needs of family members.

Historically, leadership in Mexican-American villages was exercised by "patrons." A "patron" was the most esteemed, often the wealthiest, and at times the wisest man in the village, who was able to provide economic security, leadership, decision-making, and problem-solving to those who were dependent upon him. His position as "patron" was not based upon his personal characteristics, but rather upon his ability to perform the defined role of a "patron." He ruled neither by election nor by inheritance, but by consensus of the village. Dr. Clark Knowlton writes that a "patron" was expected to be "generous, hospitable, brave, and courageous. He settled disputes between families, provided employment, assisted the poor and helpless, directed communal labor efforts, arranged for care of the church—later the school—and sponsored village fiestas." A "patron" was expected to be a patriarchal father to his people. In return he received absolute obedience. The relationship between the villager and the "patron" rested upon a set of traditionally defined roles.

The old-style "patron"—also known as El Jefe (the chief)—was later replaced by the "jefe politico." His prestige became that of a rural ward heeler or local sheriff whose power came from outside the village—based on the political system of the Anglo. The "jefe politico" was a political broker who sold the votes of the people he controlled to State politicians for whatever price he could get. This power rested upon his ability to deliver substantial blocks of votes to an Anglo political clique. In return he was allowed to control all public employment in his county from school teaching to federal appointments. As sheriff he could use his power to intimidate the opposition, to arrest or release persons just before an election, to serve or not serve public summons, and to manipulate the county tax rates.

The "jefe politico" was seldom concerned with the more serious political, social, and economic problems of his people. Deeply involved in bread and butter politics, he was for sale to the State politician able to pay his price. Although many criticized the "jefe politico" for his shortsighted leadership, his corruption, his lack of a political morality or ideology, and his exploitation of his people, Anglo Americans have not known how to face up to the problems of developing alternative systems of leadership that would function within the cultural value system of the Mexican-Americans. Merchants and other Anglos have tried to become "jefe"—to assume the power and prestige of the "patrons," by extending credit and by becoming the English-speaking middle men for Mexican-American villagers. They are regarded as commercial "patrons."

Under constant Anglo-American economic and social pressure, the old "patron" system, with its traditional patterns of decision-making, conflict solution, caring for the poor, organization of communal labor, and maintenance of ethnic and village identity, has disappeared. The "patron" system rested upon "traditional" values and attitudes of Mexican-Americans toward political leaders, government agencies, welfare, employment, and leadership, such as:

- loyalty to traditional ethnic leaders
- a tendency to seek a secure position of dependency upon an employer or political leader
- a reluctance to make decisions
- a dislike of competition and personal initiative
- a preference for stable personal relationships in which everything is well-defined
- a dislike of the formal impersonal relationships of the Anglo world
- a resistance to social and cultural change.

Its disappearance has removed a protecting buffer from the Mexican-Americans and has exposed them to the full force of social and economic change.

"La Raza Unida"—Mexican-Americans in Transition

The concept of "La Raza" (the race) is a cultural and spiritual bond uniting many Spanish-speaking peoples. It includes the most traditional peasant as well as the man who can operate effectively in "both cultures."

Recognizing that Mexican and Spanish-Americans are, as a group, a people in transition between a "traditional" society with a *legacy of poverty* and a modern industrial society, it may be helpful to outline some of the cultural variants which distinguish the two societies on a continuum extending from the least assimilated "traditional folk culture" of the Mexican/Spanish community to the "modern industrial culture" of Anglo society.

Traditional/Folk Culture

- subjective personalism/individualism
- degree of reliance upon spoken word
- emphasis on "male-ness (machismo)
- significance of religion (Roman Catholicism) in daily living
- distinct family & sex roles
- large family (considered an asset)
- present & past oriented

Modern Industrial

- Institutionalized civic-mindedness
- reliance upon written word
- significance of the secular
- less defined family & sex roles
- smaller family
- future oriented

- recreation as function of family
- passive, submissive, dependent
- formal education of less value/concern
- competition discouraged
- close family ties maintained & extended
- external influences minimal; little exposure to social patterns outside immediate family & community.
- recreation is organized & commercialized
- independent, competitive, aggressive
- education valued
- competition required
- family ties loosened
- cosmopolitanism; much exposure to other segments of society.

Although many of the basic values of most traditional cultures are contradictory to the requirements of an industrial economy, they don't seem to be any easier to cast aside. The dilemma is epitomized in the struggle to have the best of both worlds. The conflict of values is evident. Urbanization and advanced communications, especially the TV, have intensified the pressure toward acculturation. At the same time the traditional culture is constantly being reinforced by a stream of both legal and illegal immigrants from Mexico. Urbanization and rapid internal migration have also caught the Mexican-American with little effective leadership and with little political power. Only recently have the Mexican-Americans, sometimes joined by the Puerto Ricans, begun to organize, to define goals for themselves and to deal with basic questions regarding acculturation, separatism, and integration in the American society.

Development has been defined as a "complex socio-politico-economic process" whereby a people progress from a more or less static traditional mode of life toward a modern dynamic society. The major concern is upon changes that will increase and extend the material welfare of all the people who constitute a given group or community. In the Mexican-American community, development poses a choice of values, and of all the elements in a complex development process, changes in the social value system are the most difficult to bring about.

Development requires receptivity by the leaders and the people of a traditional society to the idea of change. The leaders must know how to translate the Mexican-American community's "wish" to improve their economic situation into the "will" and "capacity" to do so. They must be able to stimulate, among the community's membership, the will to make adjustments in their oftentimes traditional beliefs and habits of life for the sake of the new and different values of a modern industrial society. It is a fact that development takes a heavy toll of traditionalism. Cultural changes inevitably accompany development and they are socially destabilizing. Yet many of the so-called "peripheral" traditional values (maintenance of the Spanish language; enjoyment of Mexican food and music) are compatible with the accumulation of wealth, education, social acceptance, and the other symbols of upper-class status.

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Puerto Ricans

Puerto Rico has been under the influence and control of the United States since 1898. It became an "unincorporated territory" in 1901 and a commonwealth in 1952. Puerto Ricans have been American citizens since 1917. The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico has a representative in the U. S. House of Representatives known as a "resident commissioner." Of approximately 4 million Puerto Ricans, 1.5 million live in the U.S. As noted earlier, Puerto Ricans represent 15.8% of the total Spanish-speaking population in the U.S.

About 90% of U.S. mainland Puerto Ricans live in the East, with over 1 million residing in New York City. Other cities with a sizeable Puerto Rican population include: Hartford, Bridgeport, Boston, Philadelphia, Newark, Jersey City, Hoboken, Paterson, Camden, Cleveland, Lorain, Detroit, Chicago, and Milwaukee. Smaller pockets extend as far West as Honolulu and South to New Orleans. It is interesting to note that although the majority of Puerto Ricans still reside in Eastern States, there has been a great deal of internal migration. In 1950, for example, about 80% of all mainland Puerto Ricans lived in New York City proper. But by 1960, the percent had dropped to 70%. It is closer to 65% in 1970. There has been a heavy migration from the East and the South into the Great Lakes area. Cleveland, for example, reported 4,116 Puerto Ricans in 1960. Today the population is estimated to be over 15,000*, even though the total Puerto Rican population rose from a reported 892,000 to an estimated 1,454,000 during the same period.

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico operates 12 regional offices throughout the country to help new arrivals get established and find jobs. Puerto Ricans who settle in the U.S. enjoy all the prerogatives of citizenship, such as holding public office and voting, and are subject to all levies and responsibilities after establishing local residence status.

Puerto Rican worker unemployment rates, especially among Puerto Rican youth, have been exceptionally high in the U.S. mainland. The rate of unemployment for those Puerto Rican males from 14 to 19 years of age approached 20% in 1960. The overall Puerto Rican unemployment rate in the U.S. at that time was approximately 10%. In contrast, however, 14% of the Island's population was unemployed in 1960.

Although current unemployment rates for mainland Puerto Ricans may be somewhat lower than those computed in 1960, they are still well above the national average. A BLS Urban Employment Survey (October 1969) reported a Puerto Rican unemployment rate in New York City of 9.6%, with the rate for teenagers exceeding 30%. The Puerto Rican Bureau of Employment Security reports that in September 1969, the unemployment rate for the Island was 10.4%.

Although there is a growing number of first and second generation mainland residents with firmer roots here than in Puerto Rico, a "Puerto Rican way of life" persists, especially among the lower-income groups. This may be due to the maintenance of close ties with Puerto Rico. One of the most distinctive characteristics of the Puerto Rican migration to the U.S. is that it is a two-way rather than a one-way movement. In 1960, for example, the total net migration of Puerto Ricans to the U.S. was 20,000, but Puerto Ricans made almost a million trips to and from Puerto Rico.

While there are many similarities between Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans, there are also a number of differences which are relevant to our understanding of and our dealing with their particular manpower-related problems. These differences may best be viewed in light of the different histories of Mexico and Puerto Rico. Excerpts from Oscar Lewis' *La Vida* will provide a historical background for our understanding of Puerto Ricans as a specific ethnic or cultural minority in the U.S.:

Although Puerto Rico and Mexico are both Latin American countries and share a Hispanic tradition, there are great contrasts between them in size, in geography, in natural resources, in the racial composition of their

*The Spanish-American Committee for a Better Community reports that Puerto Ricans in Cleveland number between 18,000 and 20,000 (March 1970)

population, in their political system and in the general character of their people. It would be difficult to find two Latin American countries with greater contrast. Some of the differences in culture date back to the pre-Hispanic period. In Puerto Rico the native culture was relatively simple and never reached the high degree of civilization achieved by Mexico in pre-Hispanic times. The Spanish conquest was much more devastating for Puerto Rico than for Mexico because the Spaniards wiped out most of the Indian population. Within fifty years after the conquest there was little Indian culture left to speak of in Puerto Rico, whereas in Mexico the Indian population and culture persisted and its influence was to be one of the major factors in the history of the Nation. This has its irony because the native Puerto Rican Indian society was probably much more democratic and equalitarian than the Mexican, which was highly stratified and exploitative.

Because of the large Indian population in Mexico, the Spanish conquerors were absorbed by the native population. The Mexican population is a fusion of the Indian and Spaniard with only a minimal admixture of Negroes. In Puerto Rico, where Negroes were brought in as slaves by the Spaniards soon after the conquest, the population is a fusion of the Spaniard and the Negro with very little of the Indian.

Both the Indian in Mexico and the Negro slaves in Puerto Rico were a depressed and exploited group during the colonial period, but the Mexican Indians had a relatively higher status and lived under more favorable conditions. In Puerto Rico both colonialism and slavery lasted much longer than in Mexico. Whereas Mexico takes pride in its Indian tradition, Puerto Rico cannot point to a great Indian or Negro past. Nor are Puerto Rican Negroes especially conscious of their own distinctive African origins. In part this is due to the long process of racial integration of which Puerto Ricans are so proud. It is interesting to note in this connection that in Puerto Rico, unlike Cuba, there has never developed a comparable interest and specialization in the field of Negro studies or in the African cultural background of some of its people.

Puerto Rico's small size, its small population and its paucity of natural resources, especially minerals, were a great disadvantage from the very beginning of the colonial period. Because the island was not a source of great wealth, it was treated by the mother country as a fourth-rate colony and was neglected in many ways. But perhaps the crucial difference in the history of the two countries was the development of a great revolutionary tradition in Mexico and its absence in Puerto Rico. Puerto Ricans sought greater autonomy from Spain during the nineteenth century, but they were never able to organize a revolutionary struggle for their freedom, and the single attempt along this line, at Lares, was short-lived and never received mass support. By contrast the Mexicans fought for their independence from Spain between 1810 and 1821, drove out the French in 1866 and later produced the great revolution of 1910-20 with its glorious ideas of social justice. In the course of these struggles great heroes emerged, men who have become symbols of the Mexican spirit of revolution and independence.

In Mexico even the poorest slum dwellers have a much richer source of the past and a deeper identification with the Mexican tradition than do Puerto Ricans with their tradition.

One of the most striking differences in the language of the Mexican and Puerto Rican.. is the latter's mixture of English and Spanish and the Hispanization of many English words. This mixture of the two languages has been decried by many Puerto Rican leaders and intellectuals as a symptom of cultural breakdown and as a threat to the Spanish language, which is the single most important basis of Puerto Rican cultural identity. Most of the "loan" words used by Puerto Ricans are derived from their experiences in New York and fall into a number of categories; housing and furniture, facilities and work, government and military, school, food and clothing, city and transport. A few examples of loan words most frequently used in each category follow:

Housing and furniture: *el caucho* (derived from the English "couch," this means a cot or folding bed), *el closet*, *el hall*, *el ground floor*, *el building*, *el landlord*, *el basement*, *el mattress*, *la furniture*, and *el super* (for "superintendent"). Factory: *la overtime*, *el boss* or *el bosso*, *la bossa*, *busy*, *steady*, *slow*, *el watchman*, *el foreman*, and *la floorlady*. Government and military: *social security*, *Army*, *Navy*, *Merchant Marine*, *el welfare*, etc. School: *la high*, *teacher*, *la Miss*, *la Mrs.*, *la Sister*, and *la norsa* (for nurse). Food and clothing: *el hamburger*,

el sandwich, lonchein (to eat lunch) and *el super market; el coat, los panties, el sweater, la T-shirt, el jacket, el lipstick*. City and transport: *el east side, el west side, downtown, uptown, el subway* and *el trolley*.

Other common loan words which are inserted in a (Puerto Rican) Spanish sentence are *la Gem, el party, el trouble, el laundry, dry cleaning, nice, easy, anyway, el appointment, las Christmas, brown and blue*. A typical sentence. . . would be "Que bonitos ojos brown tienes" ("What pretty brown eyes you have"). Or "Toma la vida easy, muchacha ("Take life easy, girl").

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CHAPTER II

SOME BASIC EMPLOYABILITY DEVELOPMENT FUNCTIONS

OUTREACH

Although in the past the ES has maintained contact with the community through schools, welfare and rehabilitation agencies, and the mass media, too much of its attention has been directed to "qualified" applicants. Many potential workers were "screened out" rather than "screened in" to the labor force. Experience has shown that a disproportionate share of those "screened out" have been from minority groups, who constitute a large segment of an unused and unserved labor force.

Past denial of job opportunities for minority group people has, in many instances, resulted in a lack of faith in the "establishment." Thus many minority group individuals feel isolated and excluded from the mainstream of American society. Liaison between the minority community or individual and the Employment Service is often best provided by personnel indigenous to and accepted by the community they serve. They can help convince the individual that manpower services to meet his needs and goals are available and accessible to him.

The purpose of outreach in the Employment Service is to contact those people who do not come into the local office on their own initiative, to explain the services available to them, to persuade them to take advantage of that assistance, and to give them support throughout the period of service until they are adjusted to satisfactory employment. It also involves linking ES outreach representatives with community workers in other manpower agencies and programs in order to bring additional minority group members into the labor force.

Outreach is an integral part of the Human Resources Development concept and interrelates with WIN, CEP, New Careers, JOBS, NYC, and all other programs whose objective is employability development culminating in suitable jobs. It is also one of the principal activities of Manpower Service Area III in the Conceptual Model (The ES as a Comprehensive Manpower Agency).

Implementing the Outreach Program

The first step is to identify the target groups. Most target groups consist of racial or ethnic minority individuals who live in ghettos, barrios, and other low-income urban areas, or who are residents of low-income rural areas, including American Indian reservations. Identification also includes a description of the number, composition, and location of the hard-core unemployed and underemployed residing in areas served by the local ES and various manpower programs. These data can be obtained from an analysis of ES active and inactive files, in particular those identified as HRD. This analysis not only reveals geographic areas of neighborhood concentrations of people most in need of services, but also individual applicants who have not received adequate services.

To the extent possible, outreach should be done by workers who are indigenous to the target area and are themselves members of the target group. Often outreach is carried out with the cooperation of other agencies such as Community Action agencies, the Urban League, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), the League of Latin-American Citizens (LULAC), and others. Other productive methods include person-to-person contacts at the homes of individuals and at neighborhood recreation centers, churches, etc. and the use of TV, radio and the press. The effectiveness of outreach is, in many cases, dependent on services given by other agencies prior to, during, and following employability development. Among needs that often must be met are transportation, child care, health services, and legal aid services. Outreach personnel have the responsibility for putting applicants in touch with the appropriate agency, if necessary accompanying them, and following up on the service given. (See Chapter III, Special Resources, Interagency Cooperation.)

Minority group forums can significantly complement the outreach effort. They serve as effective vehicles which permit local offices to:

explain ES policy & procedures

- inform minority group leaders of services, jobs, & training opportunities, & to solicit their assistance in apprising their respective communities of these opportunities
- seek advice & constructive criticism relative to the improvement of ES services to minority groups.

It is recommended that wherever possible a monthly newsletter, especially prepared for minority group organizations, be distributed among minority group citizens, their community leaders, and other interested persons. The newsletter might contain items concerning minority group members who have been placed and are functioning successfully in a variety of new jobs. News about State and Federal legislation designed to ensure equal employment should also be included. Employers may use the newsletter to advertise for workers with specific skills. In effect, the periodical should serve as a clearinghouse for everybody concerned with equal employment opportunities.

COUNSELING AND INTERVIEWING

The purpose of this section is to discuss some special areas in the cultural heritage of the three minority groups and to indicate the significance of these areas in the counseling process, especially when counseling poor and disadvantaged minority group members. The materials covered in Chapter I, *Cultural and Economic Considerations*, provide a background for this discussion.

A discussion of basic counseling techniques will be limited, since counseling involves basically the same processes for all applicants. However, modification in the use of traditional techniques is suggested when failure to do so would render the counselor ineffectual with minority group applicants. Otherwise, no attempt is made to offer suggestions for changes in the fundamental practices and procedures of the counselor or interviewer. The degree to which Employment Service personnel have been exposed to minorities varies; their counseling and interviewing styles differ; and undoubtedly their need for insight and understanding of minority groups is individually unique.

Essentially, counseling is a relationship between two or more individuals, one of whom is considered able to assist the other to resolve or make an adjustment to a problem. In the Employment Service the counseling relationship exists primarily to assist individuals with employment-related problems. The counselor³ interacts closely and actively providing a variety of direct and indirect services.

Several factors may contribute to a positive and productive relationship. A very significant factor is the degree to which the counselor or interviewer and the applicant view and adjust to their respective environments. Another significant factor is the establishment of a positive relationship. This relationship may be hindered if the counselor or interviewer fails to recognize cultural differences or other factors which influence the applicant's behavior and take these into account. Finally, attitudes which some counselors, or counselees, have toward each other have an important bearing on the nature of the relationship. For this reason, some counselors may need to examine and to change their attitudes which may be counter-productive to effective counseling.

American Negroes

Most counselors and interviewers have had more contact with American Negroes than with either American Indians or Spanish-speaking groups, since they constitute the largest racial minority in this country.

First, it is very important for the counselor to understand the significance of being a Negro in America. We have already noted some of the ways in which color takes its psychological toll on the Negro. We have also noted the devastating effect of poverty on any group of people. These two factors—race and poverty—combine to create a very complex and different emotional climate in the Negro. Consequently, his pattern of reaction to many everyday situations is almost akin to what the psychologists call the "dual personality." To any given situation, the Negro can be expected to have at least two distinct reactions—the normal one; the other a clearly different one, which is created

³Although the words "counseling" and "counselor" are used throughout this section, it should be understood that reference is also being made to "interviewing" and "interviewer."

by the accumulated experience of being a Negro in America. Hence, when counseling the Negro, the counselor's actions and reactions must indicate that he understands and appreciates this fact. In other words, the effective counselor individualizes his approach with the Negro as he does in any counseling relationship. However, part of his individualization includes an awareness of and a sensitivity to what it means to be a Negro in America.

In attempting to establish rapport with a Negro, it is important for the counselor to be familiar with etiquette patterns considered proper by the Negro. The use of first names generally should be avoided since it may hinder the establishment of rapport. The Negro resents any vestige of his former servant-master relationship in which it was common practice for the master to call the slave by his first name, and accord him little dignity, worth, or respect. Hence, the manner of address is viewed by the Negro as being connected with perceptions of his status. For this reason, the counselor should always address the Negro counselee as Mr., Mrs., or Miss Taylor, at least during the initial stages of the relationship.

The concept of "black pride" has many implications for counseling and interviewing. A number of Negroes, especially younger ones, prefer to be referred to as "black,"⁴ not "Negro" or "colored." A counselor, white or black, who uses "Negro" instead of "black" may be "turned off" immediately, for it may appear to the counselee that the counselor does not respect him. To many Negroes, "black" no longer refers simply to color. It connotes a feeling about "self," pride in being "black," and a rejection of a former status in American society. The preference is more evident in certain parts of the country than in others, and more in vogue in urban than in rural areas. Many older Negroes appear to prefer "Negro" and "colored" as racial designations.

At some point during the interview, it may be necessary to use one of these racial designations. The counselor may use a number of approaches to determine which one is most acceptable to the applicant. For example, he may observe the applicant's personal appearance. In general, it seems safe to say that the individual who wears his or her hair "au naturel" or who wears African clothing prefers the use of the word "black," or he may listen for the applicant's own preference which may emerge during the interview.

Approaching this sensitive area with care is almost as important for the Negro counselor as it is for the white. A Negro counselor's using the word Negro may communicate to the applicant that he, the counselor, is an "Uncle Tom," who is "brainwashed" and therefore really unable to help him in any way.

Even if the word "Negro" is preferred by applicants, it may be offensive to some, because of the way it is pronounced. "Nigra," which sounds much like "nigger," is insulting to all Negroes, especially when used by whites.

A Southern accent, particularly in non-Southern States, is apt to put the Negro counselee on guard. Many blacks still associate a white person's Southern accent with racial segregation and discrimination. However, accent need not be a permanent relationship barrier. If the counselor demonstrates acceptance of the applicant and a willingness to help him, the fact that he has a Southern accent is of little consequence.

The counselor needs to be aware of other potential language barriers in his relationship with disadvantaged Negro applicants. One of these is level of language. The counselor's vocabulary should be such that applicants can understand him without having to guess the meaning of words. Asking the applicant to summarize segments of the interview is a technique which may be used to make sure that he understands the counselor. The counselor should not attempt to use contemporary neighborhood expressions unless they come naturally to him. An attempt to use an idiom in which he is not fluent can cause him to be perceived as a phony.

The counselor should keep in mind the significance of non-verbal behavior, including facial expressions and vocal inflections. Both of these may convey more directly the counselor's attitude toward the applicant than do his words. In the past, for example, some middle-class Negro counselors, have been known to speak, unwittingly, in a condescending manner to their black applicants.

⁴ The words "Black" and "Negro" are used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

The tendency of some applicants not to answer questions directly may sometimes tend to retard the progress of the counseling relationship. This is especially true if the counselor asks the applicant a series of personal questions which appear to be unrelated to his getting a job. Many Negroes who live in large urban areas believe that it pays to be suspicious of people who ask too many questions. In order to allay the counselee's distrust, the counselor should preface his questions with an explanation of the necessity for obtaining certain information, some of which may seem personal.

A Negro, like any other minority group individual, may be hostile toward dominant group people in general. This may be attributed to the fact that even though segregation and discrimination may no longer be the problems they used to be, Negroes are still discriminated against. For some, their hostility is simply an expression of their attempt to cover up feelings of inadequacy, defeat, and hopelessness that come from having been denied equal opportunity for so long.

Although not all Negroes are imbued with hostility, the counselor should be aware of its possible presence, either overt or passive. Northern city ghetto inhabitants are apt to express this feeling more openly than Southern Negroes, who have learned to suppress their feelings toward people whom they perceive to be their oppressors. This suggests that an applicant who is quiet and appears to be uncommunicative may be, in fact, expressing hostility.

If the counselor suspects that the applicant's hostility is blocking the counseling process, he may explore this possibility with the counselee. Sometimes hostility can be minimized or reduced by talking about it. However, how these feelings are brought up and discussed is critical. Obviously, there is no one way to deal with the situation. Some counselors may wish to ignore what they perceive to be hostility and proceed to help the individual get a job, realizing that "action" may go further in eliminating such feelings than a great deal of talk.

When assessing the applicant's work potential, the counselor should guard against prejudging the schools which blacks have attended or the work experience they have had. There is a range in the quality of Negro colleges as well as in colleges in general. Similarly, there are both good and bad students in Negro colleges just as there are in colleges and universities in general. Needless to say, the counselor should assess the individual, not the college or high school he attended or the community in which he lives.

For a variety of reasons, many Negroes have had patterns of employment in work of a menial, short-term, or casual nature. These employment patterns often have prevented the Negro from any attempts to plan and prepare for more satisfying and often more lucrative kinds of employment. A "here and now" tendency is encountered. This tendency causes the Negro to view more favorably those alternatives which lead to immediate gratification of basic and often very pressing needs. Clearly, the employment counselor has a responsibility in helping the applicant to meet his immediate needs. However, his responsibility cannot end with helping the applicant to choose any "low-level" job. He must help the counselee with the development of a plan which will enable him to secure a more satisfying and more lucrative kind of employment.

The counselor should not assume that a black's work experience has been menial. For example, a black applicant may have been assigned a job title which does not fully describe functions performed on the job. His job title may have been "Janitor" (in a clothing store); however, upon closer examination, his real duties as a janitor in a clothing store might be found to include stocking racks, displaying merchandise, making deliveries, fitting customers, and selling.

Although Negroes have been discussed as a group in this section, it is important to realize that differences among them exist. Even though many Negroes, particularly young ones, are expressing themselves more militantly today than in the past, the counselor should guard against generalizing such behavior to all Negroes. There are some who, like members of other minority groups, feel they must agree with what they perceive to be persons of authority. Thus, in the counseling interview, such persons may appear to be reluctant to say "No." If they are asked about their ability to do a given job, they are apt to reply in the affirmative, not because they want or can do the job, but because they do not wish to disagree with a person whom they perceive to be of higher status than they.

It must not be assumed that every black applicant is disadvantaged in the usual sense. In this country, there is a large number of college-educated Negroes whose only disadvantage may be the economic and social exclusion they experience because of their color.

Spanish-Speaking Groups

As in the case of the Negro and other minorities, when attempting to establish rapport with a person of Spanish heritage, the counselor should be aware of the traditional patterns of etiquette followed by this group of people. Here again, the use of first names should be avoided, at least during the initial stages of the relationship. In the Spanish society, formal address, including that of parents by a child, indicates respect for the other person. Therefore, the counselor should always address the Spanish-speaking counselee as Mr., Mrs., or Miss Lopez, etc.

The counselor should also exercise care in pronouncing the counselee's name. Non-Spanish speaking people often mispronounce Spanish names. For example, in the name "Martinez," frequently emphasis is placed erroneously on the last syllable. It should be placed on the second. The counselor should listen attentively to the individual's pronunciation of his own name. If he is unsure of the correct pronunciation, it is helpful to ask the applicant to pronounce his name, more than once if necessary.

Although the Spanish-speaking counselee may appear to speak and understand English perfectly, the more subtle meanings of the language may keep him from understanding fully the content of the interview. Thus, the counselor should make sure that the counselee comprehends any verbal exchange. This may be done by asking the individual to summarize from time to time segments of the interview. He should also make use of the usual reflective techniques to ascertain whether he understands the counselee. That is, he should repeat in fresh language the idea or thought which the applicant has expressed and wait for the individual's feedback which indicates how accurately he understands the applicant's original statement.

Often a counselor who has studied Spanish may wish to use that language in the counseling interview. Such an attempt may, in fact, constitute a relationship barrier, unless the counselor is not only fluent in Spanish, but also familiar with the colloquialisms and idioms used by the particular group to which the counselee belongs. It must be borne in mind that there are many variations in dialect and expression among Spanish heritage groups, such as Mexican-American, Cuban, Puerto Rican, and even within these groups, there are further variations. In addition, the Spanish taught in American colleges and universities is usually a form of Castilian Spanish which is not the language used by any of these groups.

This discussion should not be interpreted to mean that a counselor should not communicate in Spanish. A counselor's attempt to speak Spanish could enhance rapport if the applicant sees it as interest and effort on the part of the counselor to bridge the gap.

Another factor which may affect the counseling relationship is the fact that males and females are assigned definite places and roles in the traditional Spanish society. For example, in the Mexican-American society, the male is accorded superior status. The term "machismo" is often used to describe his manliness and helps to define his relationship to females. Therefore, female counselors should be aware of this and deal with it appropriately in order to establish workable rapport.

Individuals of Spanish background are extremely proud of their heritage. They take great pride in their culture, traditions, and language. Like the "new generation" of American Indians and Negroes, many persons of Spanish descent are beginning to strive for a full revival of their cultural traditions. Where they formerly might have spoken English outside the home, they now openly and proudly converse in Spanish. Not only are they proud of their language, but they are also proud of their Spanish surname.

The counselor should respect the counselee's culture, traditions, and values. In some cases, ES staff may need to assist the individual in resolving conflicts between the demands of the world of work and those of his immediate culture. In so doing, they have a twofold responsibility: (1) helping the Spanish-speaking applicant understand and adjust to the work environment and (2) helping employers accept and understand the applicant's cultural differences. The counselor needs to approach this area with a great deal of understanding and tact not only with the counselee, but with the employer as well.

The counselor, as he relates to the counselee, needs to be aware of the latter's reaction to the dominant culture and its members. Even though these feelings vary in intensity, they have definite bearing on counselor effectiveness.

The individual's cultural heritage also has implications for the kinds of jobs he likes and wants. "Traditional" patterns of living and working tend to limit the individual's vocational goals and interests. Many generations of people of Spanish descent have been subjected to economic turbulence and unpredictable futures. Generally, therefore, they have become oriented to the present and seek to gratify immediate desires and needs, rather than to look ahead. It is understandable that many individuals will choose immediately remunerative work, instead of engaging in an extended period of training designed to lead toward higher income and security. To such individuals, the counselor needs to point out the benefits derived from careful planning for the future.

In this section, Spanish-speaking people have been discussed as a group. The counselor should attempt to familiarize himself with the differences between and within the various sub-groups of people of Spanish background. For example, in the United States, there are Spanish-surnamed individuals who proudly claim to be of "pure" Spanish descent versus those who are of Spanish-Indian mixture. (See Chapter I.)

The counselor should guard against inadvertently reflecting some of the popular stereotyped misconceptions of the person of Spanish heritage. As in all other human relationships, paramount should be the respect accorded the individual as a person with pride and human dignity.

American Indians

The counselor, in attempting to establish rapport and to communicate effectively with the American Indian, must keep in mind that although the counselee appears to be communicating satisfactorily in English, he may be going through an involved mental process of translating words and concepts from his native language and back again. Indian languages vary greatly in concepts and in grammatical structure, not only from English, but also among themselves. (There are, e.g., in Arizona, fourteen different Indian tribal groups which speak languages of Athabaskan, Piman, Uto-Aztecán, Mohave (Yuman), etc., derivations which are further divided into local dialects. Since there is no similarity between the main root languages, communication between tribal groups of different root languages must be by some other means—formerly sign language and later Spanish or English.)

In addition, it should be borne in mind that the Indian generally thinks in basic, concrete terms as opposed to the more sophisticated abstract terms to which the counselor may be accustomed. An example of the basically concrete orientation of the American Indian lies in the area of motivation and establishment of goals. Striving for abstract goals, such as personal prestige and advancement, do not generally motivate the Indian. He usually seeks more direct and basically material rewards. His first concern is for the basic needs—food, clothing, shelter—for himself and his family. In spite of the different Indian languages and dialects, however, Indian thought processes are grounded in linguistic abstractions and terms quite different from those to which the counselor is accustomed. The counselor must, through careful use of counseling techniques, ensure that the counselee understands the full and accurate meaning of any verbal exchange.

Beyond the basic and concrete needs, Indians, along with everyone else, will aspire to material benefits which are useful or desirable in terms of their particular way of life. Because his society or community generally does not encourage the individual to "push himself" ahead of his peers, competitive motives may not appeal to him. For the same reason, he may not have an established picture of a professional or vocational choice; it must be borne in mind that certain occupations may not appeal to him because of traditional pursuits practiced by his tribal group. For example, an Indian from a nomadic and warrior tribe might prefer work within the cattle industry which involves horseback riding (line riders, cowboys), rather than work which involves "digging in the ground," which might be more acceptable to traditionally non-nomadic agricultural groups. For similar reasons, some Indians abhor underground mining jobs; others, contact with the dead (medical service professions).

Because some tribal groups have historically led a hand-to-mouth existence or because they led nomadic lives where they were not encumbered by too many "goods and chattels," one again encounters the pattern of "here and now" orientation, which translates itself into failure to make preparations or savings for the future. Such an orientation may cause an Indian counselee to reject training designed to lead to a good permanent job, in favor of temporary, seasonal employment (such as farm labor) which may bring immediate income. For example, if he is planning to attend a ceremony on the reservation for which he needs "gas money," he may be interested in working only until he has earned the required amount. The advantages of long-range planning for his own benefit and that of his family should be carefully explained to him in basic concrete terms.

The past tradition of a nomadic life with constantly changing challenges may make a job entailing repetitive, monotonous routine tasks extremely distasteful to the individual Indian. While the tradition of weaving among the Navajo and beadwork and basket-making by Apache women makes them adaptable and skillful at repetitive, demanding tasks like electric wiring in electronics assembly, supervisors of Apache men have found many times that the attention quotient and interest span of their subordinates have been increased considerably by introducing some variation into the day-to-day routine. The type of work suggested to the individual should, if possible, take some of these traits into consideration. Another factor which has a bearing on training and job placement is the desire on the part of many Indians to remain in or near their home area or reservation. Many have no desire to lose their cultural identity and would prefer, given the tools and the opportunity, to make a living "within the mainstream" without surrendering their Indian traditions.

Clan systems do not exist among all tribal groups. However, where they are present, they impose certain obligations and responsibilities upon individual members beyond those generally accepted as reasonable by non-Indians. As noted in Chapter I, clan relationships vary not only from tribe to tribe, but also in their intensity, depending on the degree of acculturation. In general, a clan relationship is considered the same as a blood relationship, and since the family unit requires the individual's first loyalty and support, constant demands of one type or another may be made on an Indian by blood or clan relatives. This may influence his behavior or performance during training or on the job (e.g., taking sudden unauthorized leave in the case of a family need or request) and may also contribute to a seeming lack of motivation. An individual whose income has to be shared with a number of relatives may not be interested in seeking or attaining a higher income level or, for that matter, earning an income at all.

In his culture, the Indian has no tradition of employment, i.e., one person working for another on a compensated basis. Where children in an advanced industrial culture may have grown up with daily pre-vocational orientation—father (or father and mother) regularly employed and discussing various types of jobs and established work routines—the Indian child growing up in this type of environment is still relatively rare. The Indian adult may have had no exposure to it at all. The counselor must, therefore, be prepared to be confronted with a counselee who has no established vocational preference or interest. Knowledge of the cultural patterns of work and other pursuits of an individual's group is helpful in this instance but should not constitute a limitation imposed on the vocational range explored. Skillful questioning should establish the direction to be followed.

The counselor should not automatically assume that affirmative answers represent the counselee's actual opinion, even when there is a clear understanding of the dialogue. A combination of Indian etiquette, which prescribes polite agreement under these conditions, and the experience that his personal opinion has usually been overruled by the white man frequently cause the counselee to agree with each suggestion or statement. An appointment may be made for him which he has no intention of keeping. This should not be construed as untruthfulness on his part, but as his own interpretation of courtesy to the counselor; sometimes it may be simply a reflection of a "What's the use?" attitude.

Reluctance to disagree is usually coupled with failure to "volunteer" information. Where a member of the dominant culture may readily divulge detailed information on his background, education, skills, etc., the Indian counselee may answer very briefly, and no more than one question at a time, without elaborating. He will "play down" his skills and not even mention them unless questioned specifically and with great skill. An example is provided by a young Navajo woman in a CEP project who was employed as a file clerk because "that was all she could do." During the following week, the services of a typist were required. She volunteered to do the work and performed well. A little later, the same type of accidental discovery revealed her ability to take shorthand.

The reason for this apparently strange behavior lies partly in the tendency, mentioned before, of the individual not to "push himself" into a position of prominence above his peers. In part, it also lies in the preconditioned wariness or suspicion of the dominant culture which exists among American Indians in varying degrees, ranging from mild wariness to extreme hostility.

This preconditioned reaction to "the white man" is based on what might be termed the "racial heritage" of the American Indian or the "race memory" of a people whose history is recorded and passed on by word-of-mouth—not as a chronological account of events, but as an accurate account of broken treaties and promises as well as experiences of atrocities and abuses by the "white man," first the Spaniard and then the "Anglo." Applied to the counseling situation, this not only sets the pattern of "not volunteering" but also the tendency to consider seeking help from the "white man" or his agency only as a last resort and without any real expectation of benefit to be derived from it.

Confronted with a situation involving others not of his own tribal group, the Indian will usually place confidence first in someone from a related group; next, in an Indian from another tribal group not traditionally an enemy of his people; and only rarely in a non-Indian who has not over a period of time earned his confidence.

Minor behavior patterns of American Indians may cause the counselor to arrive at an incorrect evaluation of the counselee. For example, the proper etiquette among certain tribal groups requires that eye contact between

communicating persons be avoided and physical contact be kept to the minimum. This explains the limp handshake and "looking away" which have led some interviewers to conclude erroneously that the interviewee has a weak character and is not trustworthy.

A seemingly small but crucial factor to be considered by ES counselors and others dealing with Indians is the rural mail delivery system. On some of the more isolated reservations, an Indian may receive his mail at the nearest trading post, which he may not visit more than once or twice a month. Therefore, in the event of need for immediate communication, the services of tribal officials should be enlisted in areas served by ES personnel. It should be kept in mind many reservation Indians do not have easy access to telephone service.

Some of the problems besetting the reservation Indian take on additional dimensions for many urban or off-reservation Indians. Without the security of his natural geographic and social environment, he is often not prepared for life in the pattern and shadow of the dominant culture. If he comes out of the isolation of a remote reservation, he may encounter his first real experience with discrimination. If he has had previous exposure to off-reservation life, perhaps in boarding school or in the military service, he may actually be living in a "no-man's land" between two cultures. In either case, he suffers the trauma of finding himself in unfamiliar, and often unfriendly territory. Pride or economic necessity may prevent him from seeking the security of his home reservation, and he will probably look for a substitute in the companionship of other uprooted Indians in the city. Here, he may forget his troubles temporarily with the aid of alcohol. His self-esteem may also be restored temporarily by being in the company of others who, like himself, add the nostalgia of Indian singing and drumming to the euphoria of the bottle. Alcoholism, both on and off the reservation, is a real and devastating problem.

The counselor should be acutely aware of the "transition trauma" which may drive individual Indians toward "escape." Major U.S. cities with a sizeable Indian population usually have Indian centers which may offer alcoholism rehabilitation. The counselor should familiarize himself with the facilities offered by these centers and other urban Indian organizations, so that he may enlist their aid in the total employability program.

Summary

In reviewing some of the things which should be taken into consideration when interviewing and counseling members of the three largest minority groups, it is apparent that there is a pattern of similarity, especially in areas which involve contact with and adjustment to the dominant culture. This is not surprising in view of the fact that the three groups have faced several centuries of oppression, alienation, and poverty in American society.

One of the more obvious common factors is the attitude or reaction toward the dominant society. Feelings of hostility exist among all three groups and vary in intensity from extreme to mild. Whether hostility impedes the effectiveness of a counselor depends upon his ability to recognize it, accept it, and deal with it effectively in a manner most comfortable to him. Some counselors, as suggested earlier, may want to bring it out in the open; others, feeling that they do not have the psychological skills to deal with it in that manner, may want to ignore it for the moment and proceed to help the counselee in a direct, concrete way. In so doing, action may speak louder than words.

The goal of counseling minority group applicants is quite clear—guidance toward full vocational participation, at every level, in American society with this proviso: that each individual maintain the option to choose his own cultural identity. If his cultural patterns conflict with the demands of the world of work, the counselor should mediate these by discussing differences in behavior and expectations with both the applicant and the employer.

A counselor may have difficulty in conveying respect for minority group individuals, unless he knows them, or about them as a people. Counselors can acquire cultural insight in a variety of ways. The effectiveness of the experiences depends largely on personal sensitivity and resourcefulness. Direct contact with minority groups in their homes and communities in the course of outreach activity or followup counseling is highly recommended. This can be supplemented by discussions with job coaches, community workers, counselors, and others who are members of the minority community. It can also be supplemented by university-directed and/or self-directed reading and study, and through the development of increased sensitivity to cues given by minority group applicants during counseling interviews.

Even though mere knowledge of a particular culture or group of people cannot ensure effective counseling, it should increase the likelihood of greater acceptance by individual applicants. The knowledgeable counselor, hopefully, would be less likely to inadvertently offend the individual by his speech, his behavior, or counseling approaches.

Finally, it should be clear that this discussion has been necessarily brief and general. Agencies in which counselors and interviewers work should provide them with continuous in-service and out-service training programs designed to make them more effective in working with minority group applicants.

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TESTING

This chapter is limited to a discussion of testing as it relates to applicants who are members of cultural minorities. A number of questions have been raised about testing minority group members and those who are socio-economically and educationally disadvantaged. If a testing program is handled improperly, one may get inaccurate test scores, mistaken conclusions, and invalid predictions. The consequence will then be incorrect decisions. However, evaluations and assessments must be made. To rely on subjective judgment alone is no solution. Disadvantaged minority group people must not be deprived of the advantages of properly selected and interpreted tests. The answer must be the exercise of care and circumspection in a testing program.

The anxiety commonly experienced by many individuals in a test situation may be intensified in the case of disadvantaged minority group applicants because of less previous exposure to testing. In order to reassure and motivate minority group applicants, the purpose of the test in relation to training and employment must be explained. Pre-test orientation is important in order to prepare the applicant for test-taking. This should include the use of practice tests and tips on test-taking techniques to develop self-confidence and insure maximum performance.

People often gain confidence in test-taking as they become more familiar with various types of test materials; with kinds of problems set forth in different tests; and with techniques for using their time to the best advantage, especially in tests for which a limited time is allotted. The booklet, *USTES Pre-test Orientation Exercises*, developed by USTES and published by the Government Printing Office, provides practice tests which are similar to the General Aptitude Test Battery paper and pencil tests. Another booklet, *Doing Your Best in Aptitude Tests*, also developed by USTES and published by the GPO, may be useful.

Test Development

The United States Training and Employment Service, in cooperation with State employment services and other government and private organizations, has conducted a number of research projects designed to improve techniques of testing:

- (1) Many tests, especially highly verbal ones, contain words and concepts that are unfamiliar to disadvantaged minority group applicants. The Nonreading Test of Aptitude G (General Ability) and the newly developed Nonreading Aptitude Test Battery were developed to provide more meaningful measures of the abilities of such applicants.
- (2) Some disadvantaged minority applicants do not have the literacy skills required for successful completion of MDTA occupational training. Commercial tests have been used to identify persons in need of literacy training, but the tests have shortcomings in terms of relevancy of content (Stanford and Metropolitan Achievement Tests) and/or adequacy of norms (Adult Basic Learning Examination). Test development is in progress to provide a multi-level USTES Basic Occupational Literacy Test with occupationally-relevant norms to identify more precisely applicants' needs for literacy training prior to MDTA occupational training.
- (3) Many Spanish-speaking applicants experience difficulty with tests administered in English. The Bateria General de Pruebas de Aptitud (BGPA), originally developed in Puerto Rico as a Spanish language version of the GATB, has also been used successfully in the continental United States with Puerto Rican and Cuban applicants. Because of differences in dialect between Puerto Rican Spanish and Mexican Spanish, work is now in progress in USTES to develop Mexican-Spanish directions for the Nonreading Aptitude Test Battery.

- (4) Priority in the development of Specific Aptitude Test Batteries (SATB's) is now given to studies which include a sufficient number of minority group applicants to make it possible to insure the validity of the batteries for minority group applicants. Existing SATB's are being reanalyzed for possible reduction in their verbal content, which should lead to the selection of more minority group applicants for apprenticeship trades.
- (5) Some disadvantaged minority applicants whose academic experiences have been unrewarding and frustrating have difficulty with any paper-and-pencil tests. Work Sample Tests developed by the Jewish Employment and Vocational Service are currently being tried out and evaluated for possible use by the State employment service.

Work Sample Tests are designed to give inexperienced individuals the "feel" of activities associated with various kinds of work. Because the samples are not highly structured and do not resemble conventional aptitude tests, they may be accepted by many disadvantaged minority group people who do not respond to conventional tests.

Test Administration

When scheduling an applicant for testing, it is important that he understand the necessity for reporting to the test on time. It is recommended that each individual receive notification (by mail or phone) at least three days preceding the testing date, reminding him of the time and place of the test. (In the case of reservation Indians who may receive mail once or twice a month, special consideration should be given to a procedure for advance notification.) Any person failing to report for a scheduled test should be contacted for followup and rescheduled, if appropriate.

Good proctoring is an important adjunct to good testing. It requires the provision of an adequate number of proctors. The number needed depends upon the type of test, the size of the test group, and its degree of test sophistication. In the case of less competitive applicants, the ratio of proctors to examinees should be no less than 1:6. When proctors are not available (such as in branch offices or on an Indian reservation), the total size of the test group should not exceed 5 or 6.

Tests written in English should not be administered to individuals not reasonably fluent in that language. If there is a question as to the applicant's English comprehension, the *GATB Screening Exercises* may be administered. These consist of 5 to 10 minutes of reading which aid in reaching an objective assessment of the applicant's ability to read and understand test items in the GATB.

It is the responsibility of management to review and evaluate test administration. If, however, there is a Minority Groups Representative (MGR) in the local office, he should periodically audit the testing sessions to determine whether the most effective testing services are being provided to minority group applicants.

Test Interpretation

As in dealing with any counselee, counselors working with minority group applicants must consider the whole individual. To help in interpreting test scores of minority group applicants, some general guidelines are listed below:

1. The applicant's reading ability and educational background should be taken into consideration when relating low test scores to vocational potential.
2. In interpreting interest inventory scores, special consideration should be given to the relationship between interest and exposure. Some disadvantaged minority group applicants have had limited exposure to the full range of alternatives measured by most interest inventories.
3. The counselor should discuss with the counselee the relationship between his test scores and acceptance for training and employment.

Unless warranted by unusual circumstances, tests should seldom be administered to a minority group applicant at the time of his first local office contact. This may give the applicant the impression of an impersonal approach to his particular problem and result in his not returning to the office in the future.

If a minority group applicant does not meet or exceed the established norms, he may still be considered for referral to training or a job under one of the following conditions, if his SATB scores are close to the required minimum:

1. When factors other than aptitudes seem to indicate that he will perform adequately on the job, or in the training situation (e.g., indicated by his interests, previous training, previous experience, indication of goals.)
2. When there may be reason to believe that an applicant's test scores do not truly reflect his ability (e.g., his scores may be influenced by a lack of exposure to standardized tests.)
3. When the employer agrees to consider less competitive applicants for the job in question.

For Further Reference

1. *Executive Order No. 11246*, September 24, 1965. Indicates that selection tests used by Federal contractors must be appropriately validated.
2. *Guidelines on Employment Testing Procedures*, issued in 1966 by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. Designed to assist employers to conform with Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

TRAINING

N.B. The training that is increasingly being provided within private industry, with or without Federal assistance, is discussed in the section on **JOB DEVELOPMENT & EMPLOYER SERVICES**.

Those of us in manpower sometimes assume that every applicant who is not job ready is at least ready and eager to take advantage of appropriate training opportunities. In some cases, however, applicants demonstrate a reluctance toward getting involved in training situations. This is particularly understandable when we think of those minority group applicants whose reluctance is basically an expression of fear of failure or discrimination based upon past experience and not a lack of motivation for further personal development. On the other hand, the reluctance may be due to a lack of understanding about—or an unfamiliarity with—the purpose and value of the training function.

As with pre-testing orientation, many minority group applicants benefit from vocational orientation or pre-vocational experiences before they are referred to vocational training. Informal group sessions in which are discussed

- the purpose of training and how it fits into an individual's overall employability plan
- trainer and employer expectations as to work habits, grooming, dress, etc.
- the degree of relevance of reading, writing and arithmetic skills in various work settings
- the relationship between work and welfare
- transportation problems
- child care problems
- language problems (English, Spanish, Indian, and other)
- health, legal, consumer, financial problems
- problems related to parole, probation, police records, etc.
- other community resources and agencies that can help with various kinds of problems

can be especially beneficial. Another consideration might be the implementation of "training sampling." Similar in intent to the "work sampling" technique, the first week of a training program (or some other appropriate time span) is structured as a trial period. If, during this period, the training does not seem suitable, other areas will be explored. This might be an effective way of lowering the dropout rate.

ES personnel may relieve an individual of some of his anxiety by citing examples of persons with similar backgrounds or with similar employment handicaps who benefitted from training. In this connection, the referring interviewer or counselor needs to be supportive not only during the exploratory stages of the relationship but throughout the entire time the individual is in training. Trainees should have continuous support from an employability development team member, if the completion rate is to be increased. Those who do drop out should also be followed up in order to provide them additional help. Recycling is recommended when hardships have forced an individual to discontinue training.

ES staff or unit responsibility for maintaining current inventories of all existing training must be extended beyond that for the immediate geographical area in order to provide assistance to individuals who may wish to relocate. This is particularly crucial in the case of minority groups (e.g., Negroes and Spanish-speaking in rural areas; Indians who wish to leave the reservation).

In addition to the information and material available within the Manpower Administration, a great deal of information pertaining to training opportunities is found in personnel and management journals; national magazines such as *Business Week*; and in the public press.

ORDER-TAKING AND ORDER-FILLING

Introduction

The ultimate goal of ES services to minority group applicants is jobs which best meet their needs and aspirations. Success in the placement process is related directly to the ability of individual staff to match the skills, abilities and potential of ES applicants to available job openings; or to develop jobs, primarily through inducing employers to accept trainees or to restructure jobs so that the skills and abilities of available applicants can be utilized.

In both cases, good order-taking and order-filling techniques are essential if minority group applicants are to receive the best possible referral and placement service the ES can render.

Order-Taking

Order-taking is obtaining, recording, and classifying information, provided by an employer, which is essential for the proper selection and referral of an applicant. Good order-taking techniques facilitate the resolution of both applicants' and employers' needs.

Consider: If an order-taker fails to eliminate unrealistic restrictive requirements during the order-taking process, many minority group applicants will be excluded from referrals. At the same time, the employer will have reduced his options to hire people who could perform the functions of the job. To ensure that minority group applicants are exposed to the broadest range of job openings in the local office, and to ensure that employers are exposed to the optimum number of qualified applicants, continuous emphasis must be placed on several factors as they relate to order-taking:

1. *Classification of orders.* It is important to obtain from the employer a complete and accurate description of the job to be performed. This will contribute to proper classification and will lessen the possibility of either over- or under-classification of the position to be filled. If the employer will accept inexperienced people, additional entry classifications should be assigned on the order so that it will be possible for applicants, including minority group applicants, who lack specific experience, but have the necessary potential, to be referred.
2. *Non-performance requirements.* Irrelevant and unnecessary hiring requirements relating to previous work experience and educational background often have an adverse effect on the referral of minority group applicants. When the employer specifies requirements which would appear to screen out qualified applicants, the order-taker must consult with the employer to determine if his stated requirements are really related to the functions actually performed on the job.

For example, an employer may state that all applicants must have one year of work experience or be able to speak and write English. If these requirements are not bona fide (i.e., not related to actual job performance), the order-taker should consider with the employer reasons for withdrawing the restrictive requirements.

3. *Orders with Discriminatory Specifications.* The Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. Exceptions are allowed under Section 703(e) only for *religion, sex, or national origin*, when these are determined to be "bona fide" occupational qualifications necessary to the normal operation of that particular business or enterprise.

If an employer is found to be discriminatory in his hiring specifications, the steps outlined in the *ES Manual* (Part II, Section 1294) must be followed. The specific responsibilities of the staff involved are set forth in these two areas:

- (1) Orders containing discriminatory specifications as to race, color or national origin, and
- (2) Orders which, though not containing discriminatory specifications, are received from employers known or believed to be discriminating by race, color, or national origin.

4. *Substandard Orders.* Staff members should not accept orders from employers unless the pay rate is at least that specified by applicable Federal, State, or local law. Further, ES staff should not take job orders from employers whose working conditions and/or pay rates are unacceptable by standards generally adhered to in the community. Accepting substandard orders sets a precedent which adversely affects all area employees and is particularly damaging to minority group members. The employer should be encouraged to revise the terms of the order to meet community standards so that the order may be filled.

Order-Filling

In order that all applicants may receive due consideration for referrals, the active file of applications must be searched before walk-in traffic is considered in filling orders. However, if the employer has stated a legitimate need for immediate referrals in an emergency situation, this should be noted on the order, and walk-in traffic may be resorted to.

In selecting from the files, first preference must always be given to veterans, disabled and non-disabled. If no veterans are found, the file searcher should consider all cards in the classification. He should be especially alert to the needs and qualifications of applicants whose cards have been in the file for a long time with little or no referral activity indicated. This may be quickly ascertained since the dates of initial application or reinstatement and dates of all selection or referral activity must be entered on the card. When an applicant is coded in an occupation, he is presumed to be qualified for referral and capable of performing in that occupation, including a license if that is a legal requirement. If the card indicates misclassification or if there appear to be other barriers to selection, the applicant should be called in for reinterview and job development, or for more intensive employability development services.

If no applicants are available in the classification of the job order, related classifications should be searched. In all cases, a record should be made on the order form of the extent and date(s) of file search and all action taken to fill the order. Each employer should be kept informed on the status of his order. If the interviewer thinks that certain requirements or restrictions are preventing selection and referral of qualified minority group applicants, he should consult with the employer and try to convince him to relax the requirements. Similarly, employers should be encouraged to assist with transportation arrangements and advances for tools or special clothing where such arrangements would facilitate minority hiring.

The local office Minority Groups Representative should check the files periodically to make certain these procedures are being followed. The installation of the Job Bank in many areas will facilitate control of referrals; provide maximum information on the number and kinds of available jobs; and enhance job exposure for minority group persons.

In offices where a Job Bank has not yet been installed, the local office Minority Groups Representative should monitor the use of occupational shortage lists. Job openings should not be placed on shortage lists when qualified applicants are represented in the files. Conversely, an order should not remain unfilled because the job opening has not been placed promptly on the shortage list *after* determination has been made that qualified applicants are not available from the file. A shortage list is not a static list prepared once a week or other fixed interval. It should be updated at every appropriate time during the day. Proper use and monitoring of the shortage list, throughout all locations of an ES local office system, will help insure that qualified minority group applicants available in the files are not overlooked by unwise use of daily traffic.

JOB OPPORTUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIAL SERVICES

In order to provide comprehensive manpower services to both applicants and employers, it is essential that enough suitable job openings exist for the people available to fill them.

Therefore, it is particularly necessary that the Employment Service assist employers in a variety of ways if minority group applicants, particularly those who are disadvantaged, are to become successfully and permanently employed. The main thrust of activities should be devoted to job opportunity development. The openings developed should offer realistic hiring requirements, continuous permanent employment, and opportunities for training and career advancement. Job opportunity development efforts must focus on the removal of conventional and institutional barriers to the employment of minority groups based on lack of knowledge, bad past experiences, discrimination, and economic fears.

Specific Responsibilities

1. Development of job opportunities, especially for minority group applicants, is the responsibility of staff who are involved in providing services to employers. Not only must job development concentrate on informing employers about removal of barriers to employment and the extra efforts required to do so, but it must also point out the positive economic benefits to both employers and applicants. Employers should be made aware that minority groups are major sources of manpower and once gainfully and permanently employed, become a potent buying force. Thus, extra efforts to put more people to work result in strengthening of all of our economy.
2. Where a Job Bank and a self-help Job Information Service are functioning, it is the responsibility of employer services staff to fully inform local employers about our operations as a clearing house for job opportunities in the community and for minority group applicants served by ES and other participating agencies.

Whether or not Job Banks exist, however, E.S. staff are responsible for promoting employer understanding and participation in a system which exposes all job openings to all applicant traffic throughout the various office locations of the ES and other cooperating manpower agencies.

3. With particular emphasis on obtaining jobs for disadvantaged applicants, especially minority group members, ES staff have important responsibilities in providing technical assistance directly to employers. Industrial service assistance must be provided to help employers determine their manpower needs, how those needs relate to the available worker supply, and how they can use the manpower resources of the community most effectively. Employers must be helped to resolve their problems in areas such as recruitment, selection, development, utilization, and stabilization of their work forces. By using the tools, techniques and procedures already developed for such efforts (job analysis, job restructuring, skill inventories, designed organization and staffing patterns, occupational testing, etc.) and also training employers in their value and use, problems can be identified, alleviated, and resolved. Only through the avenue of assisting employers to minimize manpower problems can meaningful jobs be made available for less competitive applicants.
4. Once employers are committed to an affirmative action approach to equal employment opportunity, ES staff have the responsibility for providing technical assistance to employers in setting up high support programs for recently-hired workers, many of whom will be Negro, Spanish-speaking or Indian. Employers' and their supervisors' lack of understanding of characteristics and problems of minority group workers and of their need for extraordinary support after entry on the job, constitute a major weakness in

many manpower programs. It is therefore necessary to develop and supply training material and/or conduct training for key members of employers' staffs who, in turn, will train (1) first and second line supervisors; (2) interviewers in the personnel department; and (3) rank and file employees. An agenda for the initial training should include:

- a discussion of the work-related characteristics, attitudes and problems of the disadvantaged,
- a discussion of the work-related characteristics, attitudes and problems of specific cultural minorities, disadvantaged or not,
- an emphasis on the need for high support both on and off the job,
- specific problem-solving techniques such as the "buddy system"; individual consideration of police records; on-the-job consultation between employee, ES staff, and company supervisor; providing longer periods of orientation and training.

A successful training program might include a talk by a top-ranking official within the company to help assure the employees of the sincerity of the company's commitment to the policy of affirmative action in equal employment opportunity. The training should involve speakers who can discuss, compassionately but realistically, the nature of the work-related problems of minority group employees. Potential speakers or resource people might come from such projects or organizations as those listed in Appendix A. It would be helpful in employer training programs to seek participation of other businesses and industries that have already had some success in equal employment opportunity efforts.

In addition to training the employer, the Employment Service must help the employer assume his responsibility for training minority group employees beyond that usually required by other recently-hired employees.

In helping an employer set up a high-support program for minority group employees, Employment Services personnel should discuss, for example, the "buddy system"—the assignment of a co-worker as a "buddy" on a personal basis, either in a one-to-one or small group situation. This means that a fellow worker may give additional hints about the job, advice about work behavior, and personal assistance in daily off-the-job living. A "buddy" may help the newly-hired worker get to work on time; help him use public transportation to get around town; and show him where to shop to save money. Being a "buddy" means being able to provide similar types of information that other workers may exchange in carpools. Other support measures of course include preparation of foremen and co-workers, the use of coaches or counselors, and adequate initial orientation for the worker. An essential prerequisite is firm acceptance and overt support by top management.

If there is need for more formal or structured training and the employer is not in a position to provide the help, ES personnel should be able to recommend other sources of training. This might include bilingual remedial education in mathematics, reading, writing, or training in interpersonal skills.

Follow-up with the equal employment opportunity employer, and with the placed applicant by the ES staff provides an opportunity to resolve any problems which may have surfaced for both employer and/or employee since the initial hiring. The follow-up should also be used to (1) determine whether the minority group employee remained in the job for which he was originally interviewed and presumably hired; and (2) to assure that he is in the mainstream of activity providing opportunities for career advancement; and (3) to observe what attitudes, feelings, and reactions exist for the employee and for his fellow workers. The ES staff has a continuing responsibility to support both the former applicant and his new employer in their relationships with each other.

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9. *Industrial Services Handbook*, U.S. Department of Labor, Manpower Administration. September 1968.

CHAPTER III

SPECIAL RESOURCES

CONTRIBUTIONS OF PREPROFESSIONALS

One of the most effective means of improving services to minority groups is the utilization of preprofessional staff who are themselves members of the minority community served by the local office. Indigenous preprofessionals play key roles in helping the employment service accomplish its goals. Research and demonstration projects, such as JOBS NOW in Chicago and other cities, have shown that disadvantaged minority group applicants need high supportive services in order to make a satisfactory occupational adjustment. It is clear from these projects that many of the necessary supportive services are most effectively carried out by staff recruited from the target community.

USTES has recommended the establishment of three pre professional classes in ascending order: Employment Aid, Employment Agent, and Coach. The recommendation is implemented differently in various States. Some have more classes, some have fewer. Individuals hired in the series perform services which, although not requiring specialized skills, are essential to employment service operations. Career advancement depends on individual ability, interest, and performance, as well as willingness to participate in additional training. Close supervision of entry level appointees and continuous staff development and training at all levels are critically important.

Recruitment and Selection

Preprofessionals should be recruited from the target community. Sources of recruitment include the local office files, local office staff from the target area, and agencies or organizations representing minority groups. (Appendix A) Use of the communications media such as radio, TV and the press can also be productive.

Normally the recruitment and selection of ES staff is carried out by the State merit system agency (Civil Service) and the local office role is confined to that of interviewing those on the established eligible list to make a final selection. In the case of preprofessionals, however, many merit system agencies have delegated selection authority to local ES offices in the community to be served. This has been done in recognition of the fact that traditional merit system recruitment examination procedures, particularly academically-written tests, generally do not measure those characteristics which are thought necessary for effective functioning as a preprofessional. Those characteristics have been identified as follows:

1. Initiative or leadership ability.
2. Interest in the commitment to helping people overcome their employment problems.
3. Perceptiveness and sensitivity to the needs and goals of the disadvantaged.
4. The ability to communicate with target area residents.
5. Acceptance by the target community.

It will be noted that these characteristics or qualifications are not necessarily related to academic achievement. While some minimum level of basic literacy is desirable in terms of potential career advancement, the amount of formal education an individual has completed should not be a major factor in selection. Indigenous people who are fluent in Spanish can make a significant contribution in areas where many Spanish speaking applicants reside. Minority group residents who have had successful experiences in community work frequently make excellent preprofessionals. However, recruitment should not be limited to people experienced in community work. The important factors are the five items listed.

In many States, an interview panel is convened at the local office to note the applicant's experience and potential, and the panel's recommendations are forwarded to the merit system to satisfy the legal requirements for a list of eligibles. The interview panel typically consists of a local office staff member, a representative of a community service agency, and a representative of the minority community. Another recommended method is the group discussion technique wherein a small group of applicants are individually rated as they interact with one another in the course of a problem-solving discussion of relevant issues.

Where the merit system will not delegate selection authority to the local level, selection becomes more formalized and there is a tendency to employ written tests which are less relevant to the preprofessional job duties.

Orientation and Training

It is important to recognize that the preprofessional may have some of the negative aspects of the target population he is employed to serve. He must clearly understand to whom he reports, what his job is, the hours of work, attendance rules and other demands of the jobs. In addition, training may be required to improve his appearance, grooming, and ability to communicate with other members of the staff.

The preprofessional must learn to accept his new role. This means recognizing that his working for the "Establishment" may affect his relationship with his peers in the minority community. Although he may perceive himself to still be one of them, a growing distance between them may cause him to become ambivalent toward his job and co-workers. In some cases, he may resent the professionals, for he sees them as symbols of the Establishment. He needs help in understanding how his being an employee aids directly the people of his community. He can also benefit from counseling to help him understand how to cope with his relationship with his peers. His co-workers and supervisors must be understanding and constantly supportive if the indigenous employee is to function effectively in the organization.

The preprofessional should have a thorough understanding of the services provided by the employment service. The confidential nature of employment service information should be stressed. The preprofessional should be familiar with the various community agencies, the services they render, and their scope and limitations. He should know what contacts he can initiate directly and when referrals should be made by others. In addition to the orientation program outlined above, more advanced training should be provided, designed to give the experienced preprofessional the skills and knowledge he will need to perform at a professional level. The training program should be conducted on an inservice basis, on agency time without cost to trainees. It might be advantageous to "mix" preprofessionals with newly recruited professionals for basic training in interviewing techniques, job development, DOT, aptitude testing etc. Time off-the-job should be provided for adult education and college level courses to facilitate the educational development of preprofessionals. While advanced training programs should be available to all who will become eligible for promotion, it should not be required, since some preprofessionals may prefer to remain in that role.

Assignments

In assigning duties to preprofessionals, it is important to remember the distinction between clerical duties and "people-helping" duties. Preprofessionals are an important part of the total manpower effort and should be utilized in all phases of operations. Due to their acceptance by the minority community and their understanding of it, preprofessionals are particularly effective in outreach and support services. Their roles are as mediators to interpret the individual or applicant to the employment service and the employment service to the individual. They serve as communications channels between the employment service and the target area. They can provide meaningful applicant services by maintaining contact with persons who feel lost in a government agency, who fail to keep appointments or who fail to report to jobs.

Experience indicates that where the manager was willing to give them intensive training and responsible assignments, preprofessionals developed into key members of local office staffs.

Following are examples of specific assignments in which preprofessionals function very effectively:

- (1) locating and assisting applicants who did not receive complete service
- (2) contacting new community residents to acquaint them with available community resources
- (3) introducing minority applicants to staff members and other community agency personnel who can help them
- (4) assisting an individual in finding a bus route, in filling out forms and in finding his way to needed services
- (5) demonstrating appropriate job interview techniques

- (6) conducting tours of work and training sites
- (7) showing film strips in the ES office waiting area
- (8) conducting follow-up to determine why an applicant did not report for a medical appointment, testing, training classes, etc.
- (9) maintaining close contact after placement until the individual is satisfactorily adjusted to the job
- (10) following up with the foreman, not only in regard to the worker, but also to become more knowledgeable about the company's approach to the employment of disadvantaged minority workers.

Supervision

The success of a preprofessional program depends to a very great extent on the attitudes and skills of the supervisors. Probably the most effective way to motivate supervisors is to involve them in the design and planning of the preprofessional program, including the selection, training, and performance evaluation process.

It is recommended that each new preprofessional be assigned to an ES counselor who will be able to facilitate his adjustment to the job and stimulate him to take advantage of the career opportunities which the ES can offer. The counselor can assist the individual in self-assessment and arrange for remedial education, changed job assignments, etc., as necessary. Ideally, the counselor should become involved with his "counselee" and represent his interests to the local office manager and other professionals. In cooperation with management and training personnel, the counselor should develop an individualized career development plan for the preprofessional assigned to him and periodically meet with him and his supervisor to check his progress.

Staff Relations

The use of preprofessionals constitutes a change from long established practices. It is, therefore, possible that their introduction into a local office may bring about problems in staff relations and supervision. Some of the problems that have already arisen are listed below, along with possible corrective action.

Problem: Professional staff with college training and/or many years of employment service experience to their credit may resent the implication that agency work can be performed by people with no such qualifications.

Action: Before the introduction of preprofessionals, all staff should be acquainted with the role of the preprofessional. It should be pointed out that most of the duties to be performed by preprofessionals are new to the employment service and do not require professional training; and that preprofessionals will take over some of the nonprofessional work currently being performed by professionals, thus enabling the latter to spend more time in genuinely professional work. Training to sensitize the professional staff to the attitudes and problems of minority groups gives professionals a better appreciation of the need for pre professionals and facilitates adjustment to their new colleagues.

Problem: Preprofessionals who are enthusiastic and highly motivated to help the disadvantaged of their community may feel impatient and frustrated by local office procedures which they often perceive as conservative and cumbersome. They may also feel that the professional "establishment" is not really committed to helping the disadvantaged unemployed.

Action: Preprofessionals should receive training to help them understand how the local office functions, and why acceptance of change may be slow, particularly for some "old time" staff members. The goal of such training should not be to make the preprofessional accept the status quo without question, but to learn to work for change within the bounds of the system. Periodic discussions by preprofessionals and professional staff, either together or separately as appropriate, should help alleviate antagonisms that may arise.

Problem: The behavior of some preprofessionals may differ considerably from that of other employment service personnel in terms of attitude toward supervision, dress, language, and the like.

Action: Preprofessionals, their supervisors, and co-workers will all need training to minimize these problems. Preprofessionals must learn to accept certain aspects of office routine. Regular staff must learn to accept certain unique aspects of the preprofessionals' behavior. The object of this training should not be to make preprofessionals

conform to the traditional modes of white-collar behavior, but rather to facilitate a mutual adjustment. A preprofessional who completely adopts middle-class dress, language, and attitudes may well lose some of his effectiveness in the target community.

Promotion

Preprofessionals who have been promoted to the professional level are, of course, particularly well equipped for employability development work with the disadvantaged and should be encouraged to remain in this area after promotion. However, should they be interested in and considered qualified for a change in assignment, they should not be limited to the original setting.

Summary

Preprofessionals can contribute a great deal to the agency. However, it is important to provide them with continuous in service training so that they may improve their skills and acquire new ones. It is also imperative that supervisors be assisted in relating to indigenous personnel. Further, it is necessary that the preprofessionals' professional co-workers be provided with inservice training so that they will be willing to relinquish previously performed duties and assume responsibility for tasks which only they can or should do.

A local Minority Groups Representative can help in this area by periodically making checks to see if preprofessionals are being used to the best advantage of the organization. He should make sure that they are being given meaningful responsibilities in the agency and that inservice and outservice training designed to upgrade them to more responsible positions is available.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

Cooperation with other agencies is not a new concept in the Employment Service. It has been a part of local office activity from the beginning. However, it is important to make sure that all groups and organizations in the community that are concerned with serving disadvantaged minorities are invited to participate with the ES in serving them.

Informed, directed action is the essence of a positive cooperative program. Effective results in serving disadvantaged minorities can only be attained with the help of others. That help can be sought and won only if the prime mover, in this case the Employment Service, understands and believes that the equal employment opportunity concept is sound and the goal achievable. It is appropriate that the Employment Service should take the initiative in seeking the cooperation of other organizations to allay any previous misconceptions or misunderstandings.

In most areas there are organized and informal groups which not only have considerable knowledge about the community's minority groups, but which enjoy excellent rapport as well. It is therefore advisable that employment service personnel consult with them and enlist their expertise and advice on programs, services, and activities related to providing for and serving minorities. In addition to local groups there are chapters and branches of national and State organizations in most communities whose primary mission is providing equal opportunity for minorities. Many of these organizations are concerned specifically with the employment problems of the people they serve. It is therefore imperative that the local office establish and maintain a cooperative relationship with them. Some of the organizations are listed below:

- American G. I. Forum
- American Indians - United
- Aspera and other Puerto Rican organizations
- Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)
- Indian tribal councils and local urban Indian organizations
- League of United Latin-American Citizens (LULAC)
- Local Cuban organizations
- Mexican-American Political Association (MAPA)
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- National Congress of American Indians
- National Urban League
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- State and local Fair Employment Practices Commission
- Federal agencies with primary Civil Rights responsibilities
- Civil Service at all levels
- Office of Economic Opportunity
- Health, Education, and Welfare
- Bureau of Indian Affairs
- Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training

Youth and militant groups in the community should be included on an equal footing and encouraged to exchange ideas about employment.

A specific person on the local employment service office staff should be assigned to maintain liaison with community organizations serving minority groups. In offices where there is a Minority Groups Representative, this function should be assigned to him. If there is no MGR, the assigned individual should have responsibility and authority to speak for the Employment Service. Even though a specific individual has the responsibility for the liaison function, all employment service employees should be involved in contacts with community organizations wherever possible. The

local office manager should invite his staff members who are themselves members of minority groups to participate in discussions held with organizations representing their particular group. It cannot be assumed that all minority groups people are necessarily interested in participating in programs relating to their ethnic group. However, they should be given every opportunity to do so.

A meaningful, productive community cooperative program is not easily achieved and maintained. It does not come about overnight or without special efforts on the part of the Employment Service. Establishment of a Job Bank in the local office presents an opportunity to offer cooperating organizations a share in the operation of the system to protect the employment of minority groups. ES personnel should meet with representatives of community and government organizations to discuss respective purposes and policies, to debate mutual problems, and to set up a local advisory board consisting of leaders of organizations concerned with the employment of disadvantaged minorities.

Employment Service personnel can provide other assistance to organizations such as; current labor market information and manpower forecasts; vocational training sources; speakers for conferences, workshops, and panel discussions; group visits to employment service local offices and visits by employment service personnel to other agency headquarters; providing for participation in employment service staff training especially in placement techniques and Job Bank operations; full Job Bank participation should be made available to cooperating organizations.

Agency forums have proved to be very effective in strengthening relationships and cooperation between the ES and community agencies. They provide an opportunity for the ES to explain policies and procedures to agency personnel and to solicit their assistance in apprising their respective communities of jobs and training opportunities; to seek advice and constructive criticism from community leaders relative to the improvement of ES services to the target population.

Channels should be established for referral of individuals between agencies and for follow up on services given. Relevant printed material should be exchanged. It is also recommended that jointly sponsored activities, such as employment conferences, forums, field trips to industries, and the like, be planned and implemented. Above all, provision should be made to ensure ES participation in an active, ongoing community cooperative program to assure equal employment opportunity for minority groups.

CHAPTER IV

ADMINISTRATION

OPERATIONAL RESPONSIBILITY

The responsibility for providing services to minority group applicants rests with employment service personnel at all levels of the organization. Therefore, the major responsibility of the Minority Groups Representative (MGR) at all levels is to get the staff effectively involved in an affirmative action program designed to promote equal employment opportunity for minority group applicants. In this chapter, the responsibilities of the local, district, and State staff are delineated. Although in some cases the responsibilities and functions may appear to be exclusively those of the Minority Groups Representative, it should be understood that providing services to minority applicants is an organizational responsibility.

The Local Office

The local office manager has the overall responsibility for the local program of services to minority groups. While the manager is responsible for the operation of the program, the MGR is the program's functional supervisor and assists the manager in its implementation and evaluation. The MGR is directly responsible to the local office manager. As the principal resource person in the local office, he provides specialized information and knowledge related to minority group services. Some of the specific duties and responsibilities of the MGR may be listed thus:

1. Services to Local Office Staff

a. While the local office staff has the primary responsibility for providing effective service to minority group applicants, the MGR acts as a resource person to the local office staff in carrying out their responsibilities. These responsibilities include application taking, counseling, testing, job development, referral, placement and followup, referral to training, referral to other agencies, and to special programs such as JOBS, WIN, CEP, NYC, etc.

2. Service to Employing Units

a. Offers information and assistance to employers, unions, employers' associations, technical associations, and all other local job sources, with such information and assistance designed to increase job opportunities for minority workers.

b. In cooperation with the Employer Relations Representative, assists employers desirous of integrating their work force by calling on them, discussing the advantages of employing minority group workers, reviewing employer operations and manpower needs with particular reference to current openings, entry jobs, promotional possibilities, feasibility of job restructuring, validity of tests used by employers, pattern of minority group hiring, and current use of minority group workers. Establishes and maintains contact with new firms entering the area in order to assist them in integrating their staffs. Explores possibilities for placing minority group inner-city residents in industries located in the suburbs.

The Minority Group Representative maintains a list of employers who have indicated a desire to integrate. This list is used for job development and placement of minority group applicants by local office staff. Obviously, placement and job development efforts are not confined to these employers.

c. Maintains a file of discriminatory and attempted discriminatory orders referred to him by the mainstream operations and a file of information on employers who have indicated a possible "pattern" of exclusion of minority group applicants.

d. Establishes or maintains contact with organization representatives of minority communities to encourage use of ES facilities. Elicits and resolves complaints affecting image of ES, assuring that corrective action is taken when warranted.

3. Staff Services

a. Assists in analyzing various reports which reflect the social and occupational composition of the community.

b. Conducts evaluations of services to minority applicants at a time established by the manager and recommends appropriate action to correct deficiencies. Presents these findings and recommendations in writing to the manager. (See Chapter IV, Administration, Evaluation of Services.)

c. On a quarterly basis, completes and submits local office Minority Groups Programs Appraisal to the State MGR through the local office manager, coordinating these appraisals with the semi-annual overall appraisal provided for by the Operations Appraisal System.

d. Furnishes all placement personnel with lists of Equal Opportunity Employers, JOBS, and Plans for Progress employers.

e. Monitors the use of the shortage occupation list to insure that (1) regular traffic does not usurp job orders for which in-file minority group applicants are qualified and (2) minority applicants in traffic have equal exposure with others to job openings which cannot be filled by file use. In offices in which there are Job Banks, monitors referrals to Job Bank openings and assures that agency personnel representing minority group agencies are informed of the availability of the Job Bank book.

f. Works closely with other local office specialists in programs that offer services to minority groups.

They are, among others, older worker and youth specialists, and specialists serving the handicapped and veterans. This cooperative relationship should include day-by-day communication, regularly scheduled conferences, and exchange of pertinent information.

g. Keeps staff informed of community study courses, workshops, public meetings, and conferences devoted to minority groups problems.

h. Acts as resource person in identifying staff training needs and assists in training local office personnel in the continuing program of services to minority groups.

i. Devises techniques, including obtaining speakers from the minority community, to increase staff awareness of trends and activities in the field of minority employment.

j. Works with local office Manpower Training Specialist in regard to the development of training courses and the selection of trainees to ascertain whether qualified minority group workers are being referred to training.

k. Assists in developing the local areas Plans of Service to implement the minority groups programs.

4. Community Services

a. Devises effective means, involving active participation with community groups, for stimulating and encouraging minority group workers toward training, retraining, and participation in education, apprenticeship, and skill-upgrading programs. Disseminates labor market information to apprise the minority community of current and anticipated skill needs. Involves and utilizes appropriate local office staff whenever possible in carrying out these activities.

b. Provides interested community groups and news media with special labor market information regarding the racial composition of the local work force.

c. Represents the local office manager as liaison representative in dealing with organizations and agencies in the area concerned with promoting equal employment opportunities. May represent the local office in local conferences, meetings, or committees concerned with equal opportunities.

Area or District MGR

The duties of the district MGR may be essentially the same as those outlined for the local office MGR, except that he serves more than one local office and is responsible to the district manager or supervisor rather than to a local office manager.

State Administrative Office

Significant administrative functions are carried out at the State level by the administrator or director of the State employment service, by the State director of local office operations, and the individual who is designated as the State MGR—by title or responsibility. The director should allocate staff time to give maximum service to minority group applicants. There must be at least one person full time with responsibility and authority to see that the program is effectively carried out.

The Director should insure that State MGR classification specifications, or the classification of the person responsible for this function accurately define the authority and duties of the incumbent. The State MGR is directly responsible to the State administrator or director. It is the responsibility of the State administrator to enforce policy regarding services to minority group applicants, to support the Minority Groups Representatives and line staff in the implementation of agency policy, and to take appropriate action with staff who do not follow agency policy. The State administrator should involve the MGR in the State Plans of Service to ensure provision for adequate service to minority groups. The State administrator should participate in activities promoting equal employment opportunities and should utilize the authority of his office to that end.

Some of the specific duties of the State MGR are outlined below:

1. Participates with other State agency staff in the formulation of a Plan of Service for meeting the needs of minority groups.
2. Works toward local office recognition of minority group problems in the development of local area Plans of Service.
3. Promotes the elimination of discriminatory employment practices through programs designed to familiarize employers with Fair Employment Practices legislation and principles of employment on a merit basis; that is, without regard to race, creed, color, sex, or national origin. In this connection, may develop or assist in the development of educational and promotional materials.
4. Evaluates local office operations for conformity to anti-discrimination policy and legislation concerning services to applicants and employers; and arranges for and/or recommends remedial action. May function as a member of Appraisal System team in overall local office operations appraisal.
5. Coordinates ES activities with the activities of outside agencies which are concerned with service to minority groups.
6. Develops, or assists in the development of, training programs for employment service staff to promote (a) full understanding of the meaning and implications of Title VI and VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, (b) other significant legislation related to services to minority group applicants, and (c) overall training in employment service responsibility to minority group applicants. Sees that training is given, preferably by line operations.

7. Establishes and maintains working relations with governmental and private civil rights and community organizations involved in job placement and equal employment opportunity, in order to insure full participation of minority group workers in available job and training opportunities.
8. May participate as speaker, resource person, discussion leader, and the like before governmental and private groups and mass media in order to interpret USTES and State agency policies and to promote an understanding of the history of various minority groups, their problems, and dominant group attitudes.
9. Receives and investigates complaints from minority group applicants that allege discriminatory action on the part of the State employment service or the unemployment insurance (compensation) division.
10. Makes reports (and recommends remedial action when necessary) directly to the State administrator or director on employment and civil rights problems, especially when such matters affect the operations.
11. Is responsible for liaison between the State, local, and Federal enforcement agencies on matters involving discrimination in employment and training on the part of employers, labor organizations, and other groups.
12. Is responsible for and authorized to act as liaison between the regional office and the local offices on matters relating to minority group workers.
13. Receives, evaluates, and recommends action on reports from local offices on matters relating to the employment of minority group applicants.
14. Evaluates the staffing pattern and personnel actions of ES and UI in the State as these are related to the employment and promotion of minority group employees. Brings staffing imbalance, in relation to the community and/or failure to comply with EEO policy under Title VII, Sec. 701C, to the attention of the State administrator.
15. Maintains close and effective relationship and continuous liaison with State specialists in other programs. These specialists include professionals responsible for implementing the Human Resources Development Concept, for services to the handicapped, older workers, veterans, youth, public offenders, and WIN enrollees, as well as those responsible for counseling, application taking, placement, testing, and training programs.
16. Encourages State personnel systems to practice equal opportunity in their own hiring and promotional policies and practices.

The duties and responsibilities listed may differ from State to State. However, the responsibility of the State MGR is to continuously stimulate and improve services to minority group applicants. Any changes made by States from the above recommendations should be to meet specific needs and local situations and always for the purpose of enhancing services to minority groups.

Regional Office

The regional office has joint responsibility with national and State offices for implementing a program of services to minorities. The RMA should delegate operating responsibility for the program to a staff member who has an interest in promoting equal opportunity in employment, coupled with suitable training and background. Where staffing levels permit, the assignment should be full-time. The Regional Equal Opportunity Officer should cooperate with his counterparts in other Federal agencies in the promotion of equal opportunity and non-discrimination in employment. His functions are as follows:

1. Acts as consultant to the Regional Manpower Administrator on all Civil and Human Rights matters affecting USTES operations.
2. Familiarizes himself with the socio-economic characteristics of the work force throughout the various States in the region.
3. Establishes, develops, and maintains good communications and cooperation with the State MGR and with public and private enforcement agencies and organizations concerned with services to minority groups.
4. Cooperates with and coordinates national and State office personnel in planning conferences for State Minority Groups Representatives.
5. Maintains a directory of organizations serving minority groups.
6. Encourages and assists the State MGR to make periodic evaluation of services provided minority groups by local offices.
7. In cooperation with State personnel, makes on-site visits in order to observe and review activities related to minority groups in Human Resources Development and Concentrated Employment Program offices and training centers as well as local employment offices. Prepares written reports of such visits (with recommendations) to the Regional Manpower Administrator for forwarding, when appropriate, to the national and State offices for their information and action.

EVALUATION OF SERVICES

The purpose of evaluation in the Minority Groups Program is to insure that positive efforts are being made for minority groups.

Responsibility for Evaluation

The Employment Service Operations Appraisal System, which is designed to appraise ES operations at all administrative levels, includes provisions for review of services to minorities. This is such a vital aspect of the System that it is important that a staff member be assigned to evaluate the services minority group applicants are receiving. (See Chapter IV, Operational Responsibility).

Objectives of Appraisal

The basic questions to which the evaluation program must provide answers are:

1. Does the employment service take positive steps to reach members of minority groups who would not come to the agency on their own initiative, and bring them to the ES for assistance?

2. Are the employment-related needs of such individuals correctly identified?
3. Are these individuals provided appropriate services, based on their identified needs for such services? Are these services effective, based on immediate and long term outcomes?
4. If there are inadequacies in any of these areas (see preceding items 1-3), at what point(s) in the provision of services do they occur? Why do they occur? How can they be remedied?
5. Are minority group applicants given equal consideration with dominant group applicants for referral to employability development services and to job opportunities?
6. Are minority group applicants given thoughtful and courteous service?
7. What are the attitudes of members of minority groups toward the employment service, especially with regard to provision of services to minority groups? To what extent are they justified? How can they be improved?
8. Is the employment service making adequate efforts to increase employer acceptance of minority group applicants and to increase job opportunities for them?
9. Does the employment service take positive steps to recruit minority group members for jobs in the employment service? Are such individuals hired, provided with needed training and other staff development services, and promoted according to their skills and potential?
10. Is the local office staff properly motivated and oriented to provide equal opportunity and service to minority groups?

Appraisal Methods

There are several methods for assessing the extent and effectiveness of services to minority groups. Four of these—observation, studies of records, surveys, and discussions with staff—are discussed in this section.

Observation

It is the responsibility of supervisors at all levels to make observations on a scheduled basis of reception and intake, application taking and interviewing, counseling, testing, selection, and referral. The observer should note whether the appearance of the office is neat and attractive, whether service is provided promptly and courteously, whether applicants' questions are answered clearly, whether applicants are given clear and appropriate directions to further service, and whether the service provided is appropriate and adequate for the applicants' needs, within the resources of the local office.

The observer should also ascertain whether:

- a. All applicants are registered who should be, regardless of race or other non-job-related characteristics.
- b. All applicants, regardless of race or other non-job-related characteristics, are given equal consideration and opportunity for referral to jobs and to training opportunities. (Veterans continue to be given preference over non-veterans in referral.)
- c. Services provided are understood and viewed positively by applicants.
- d. Applicants entering the office can immediately see staff of their own racial group with whom they can identify.

- e. Restrooms, drinking fountains, waiting areas and all physical facilities are available to all applicants on a nonsegregated basis.
- f. Posters, "Know Your Employment Rights" and "Equal Employment Opportunity is the Law" are prominently displayed.

These questions should be used as a basis for discussion of appraisal results with local employment service staff.

Studies of Records

Studies of applicant records and job orders can provide information on the scope of the services being provided to minority groups. This appraisal method is especially valuable for determining the extent to which minority group applicants are being referred to and placed on jobs, as well as the degree to which they are being screened into employability development activities and programs, such as occupational training.

Obviously, services to minority groups will not be satisfactory unless overall services are good. Overall appraisal includes evaluation of services to minority groups as described above. In appraising services to minority groups, quarterly reviews should be made to compare services to minority group applicants with those received by dominant group members.

The following items should be noted: Promptness and depth of service; kinds of occupations and training programs to which referred; differential in wages, hours, working conditions, and personnel practices of employers to whom referred, and job orders (in order to note referral patterns).

Surveys

Surveys may be used effectively to evaluate services to minorities. Applicants and employers are two important groups to survey by mail, telephone, or personal interviews. Applicants can be asked to react to questions about activities such as outreach, reception and intake, counseling, testing, referral and the like. Employers may be asked about their attitudes concerning minorities, the employment services' referral practices, and other subjects deemed appropriate. In making surveys, however, it is important to realize that few individuals can be completely objective in responding to questions included on surveys. Therefore, survey results must be evaluated with this in mind.

Discussions with Staff

Discussions with staff can be highly productive. They may indicate the attitudes of staff toward providing services to minority groups. When discussions include a review of specific cases, appropriateness of services provided can be appraised. Discussions can also provide opportunities for the appraiser to establish a mutually helpful relationship with staff members serving minority group applicants.

Questions and Methods of Inquiry

Outreach

1. Review the local office outreach effort in relation to the need for such a program in the area. Is it adequate? Is it directed to those areas in which minority groups are concentrated? (review of records)
2. Does it appear to be effective, in terms of reaching minority groups and causing them to register with the employment service? (review of records, contacts with other agency personnel)
3. If it is not effective, why not? Are outreach workers going to places in the community frequented by the groups they want to reach? Is their approach to the target group appropriate? (This may involve both discussions with staff and observation.)

4. To what extent are indigenous workers used for outreach? (review of records)
5. Has outreach been related realistically to the resources available to provide the needed services? (discussions with management, surveys)

Reception and Intake

1. Are minority group applicants greeted pleasantly and given courteous service? (observation, applicant survey)
2. Are services provided promptly? (observation, applicant survey, review of records)
3. Are all applicants registered who should be, regardless of race or other non-job-related characteristics?
4. If the local office serves an area with a significant number of non-English speaking residents, is adequate staff available who can converse with these residents? (observation, discussion with local office manager)
5. Are required Equal Rights posters prominently displayed?

Application Taking and Interviewing

1. Are occupations correctly coded? Does the code fully and accurately describe the applicant's occupational experience? Is his full occupational potential indicated? Have secondary classifications been entered when this is appropriate? Is he identified as an HRD applicant? (observation, applicant survey, discussions with staff)
2. Are the wishes of the applicant considered in assigning occupations? If such wishes cannot be honored, are the reasons recorded on the application card? (records, applicant surveys, discussion with staff)

Counseling

1. Was counseling provided to applicants who needed it? (review of records)
2. Did counselors appear to have an understanding of applicants' problems and deal with them sympathetically? (observation, applicant surveys, discussion with staff)
3. Was there an effort to analyze applicants' needs for supportive services other than those available from the ES? Were applicants assisted in obtaining services when they needed them? (review of records, applicant surveys, discussion with staff)
4. Did counselors develop adequate, individualized plans of service for applicants? (Review of records)

Testing

1. Was testing provided applicants who appeared to need this service? If so, what tests were administered? (review of records)
2. Were the tests appropriate? (review of records)
3. Were applicants properly prepared for testing? (review of records, discussion with staff, applicant surveys)
4. What non-verbal tests have been used? (records discussion with staff)
5. What adjustments were made to permit meaningful testing of non-English speaking and other minority group applicants?

6. Were tests administered under conditions conducive to good performance on the part of those being tested? (observation, surveys, discussion)
7. For those minority group applicants referred to testing, was this the most appropriate service to provide them at that time? (discussions with staff)

Employer and Job Development

1. What job development efforts have been made on behalf of minority group applicants? (records, discussion with staff)
2. What efforts have been made to provide upgrading opportunities for members of minority groups? (records, discussion with staff)
3. Does the local office have a vigorous employer development program, to promote improved job opportunities for minority groups? (discussions with management)
4. Does staff adhere to the *ES Manual*, Part II, Section 1294, in handling job orders from employers who are known to have discriminatory hiring and personnel practices or who are suspected of such practices? (records, discussions)
5. Are all known instances of discriminatory hiring and other discriminatory personnel practices reported, as provided in *ES Manual*, Part II, Section 1294? (records, discussions)

Selection and Referral to Training

1. Are all applicants, regardless of race or other non-job-related characteristics, given equal consideration and opportunity for referral to training opportunities?⁵ (records, discussion with staff)
2. Have all applicants been given equal consideration and opportunity for referral to other employability development services? (records, discussions with staff)
3. Have minority group applicants been referred to training in line with their potential, capabilities, and interests? (records, applicant surveys, discussions with staff)
4. Are applicants who are referred and not hired, but did not return to the ES office, followed up?
5. What supportive service is provided minority group applicants after they have been placed in occupational training courses? Have such services been effective? (records, applicant surveys, discussions with staff)
6. Are there differences in the kinds of occupations for which minority group and dominant group applicants (with approximately equal educational and other qualifications) are trained? If so, why? (records, discussions with staff)

Placement

1. Are all applicants, regardless of race or other non-job-related characteristics, given equal consideration and opportunity for referral to jobs? (records, discussions with staff)
2. Are minority group applicants referred to jobs in line with their potential, capabilities, and interests?

⁵Veterans should be given preference.

3. What services are provided minority group applicants to prepare them for job interviews? To assist them in adjustment on the job? (records, applicant surveys, discussions with staff)
4. Have these services been effective? (records, applicant surveys)
5. To what extent have indigenous workers been used to provide such services? (records)

Occupational and Industrial Analysis

1. What efforts have been made to encourage and help employers to restructure jobs to provide increased job opportunities for members of minority groups? (records, discussions with staff)

Labor Area Information

1. When appropriate, have minority group applicants been provided with job market information, to help them in their own job seeking efforts? (records, applicant surveys, discussions with staff)
2. What guidance has been given to them in the use of this information? (applicant surveys, discussion with staff)
3. Are the kinds of information developed and the form in which they have been presented appropriate for the needs of minority groups? (observation)

Occupational Opportunities Information

1. Has the school program been conducted in schools with large enrollments of minority group students? (discussions with staff)
2. Are the services offered in the school program appropriate for the needs of minority groups? (observation)

Career Development and Training

1. Does the office make positive efforts to recruit minority group staff? Describe. (discussions with management)
2. What training is provided to prepare minority group staff for advancement? (review of training plans, discussion with staff - minority group management) (discussions with management).

Staff Technical Services

1. What guidance is provided to local office staff by the MGR and other staff with technical competence in the effective provision of services to minority groups? (discussions with staff)
2. What technical assistance has been sought and received from State office staff in the effective provision of services to minority groups? (discussions with staff)

Community Services

1. Review the community relations program. Does it include publicity directed to both employers and applicants, to encourage minority groups to apply to the employment service, and employers to employ members of minority groups? (discussions with management - review of publicity materials)
2. If so, has this been effective? (review of records, applicant surveys, and discussion with staff)

3. What kinds of working relationships have been established with the various community organizations and agencies representing minority groups? Have they been effective? (discussions with management; discussion with personnel in these agencies) - See Chapter III, "Cooperation with Other Agencies."

Management and Supervision

1. Review the Plan of Service. Does it make adequate provision for services to minority groups, in terms of community needs and resources available to meet them? (review Plan of Service)
2. Is there a clearly stated non-discriminatory policy with respect to services to applicants? (review appropriate staff memos, etc.)
3. Is this policy known, understood, and observed by all staff? (observation, discussions with staff)
4. Do management and supervision support and practice positive action with respect to services to minorities? (observation, discussions with staff)
5. Is day-to-day supervision concerned with services to minorities, among other responsibilities? (observation, discussion with staff)

APPENDIX

APPENDIX A

The following is a list of organizations which devote some or all of their efforts to the betterment of American minority groups:

Indian

American Indian College Foundation
1419½ Elizabeth Avenue
Charlotte, North Carolina 28204

American Indian Historical Society
1451 Masonic Avenue
San Francisco, California 94117

Arrow, Inc.
822 Dupont Circle Building
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
E. Thomas Colosimo
Executive Director
Telephone 202-296-0685

Associated Executive Committee
of Friends on Indian Affairs
404-A Avenue
Central City, Nebraska 68826

Association on American Indian
Affairs, Inc.
432 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10016

Bureau of Catholic Indian
Missions
2021 H Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Indian Rights Association
1505 Race Street, Room 519
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102

LDS Indian Student Placement Program
10 South Main, Suite 331
Salt Lake City, Utah 84101

Michigan State Commission on
Indian Affairs
946 College Drive
Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan 49783

National Congress of American
Indians
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Room 1010
Washington, D.C. 20036
Mr. Bruce Wilkie
Executive Director
Telephone 202 223-4155

National Indian Youth Council
c/o American Indian Center
1630 W. Wilson
Chicago, Illinois 60640

Office of National Indian
Ministry Consultant
The Lutheran Church Missouri Synod
2116 S. Minnesota Avenue
Sioux Falls, South Dakota 57105

Southwestern Association on
Indian Affairs, Inc.
P.O. Box 1964
Santa Fe, New Mexico 87501

National Council on Indian
Opportunity
1726 Jackson Place, N.W., Room G-225
Washington, D.C. 20506
Robert Robertson
Executive Director
Telephone Code 103-3412

American Indians United
1630 West Wilson Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60640
Jesse Sikkler
Executive Director
Telephone: 312-784-4882

Urban Indian Development Assn.
1541 Wilshire Blvd., #307
Los Angeles, California
Gene Stewart
President

The Coalition of American Indian
Citizens
United Scholarship Service
P.O. Box 18421
Capital Hill Station
Denver, Colorado 80218

Negro

National Association for Advancement
of Colored People-NAACP
1790 Broadway
New York, New York 10019
Kivie Caplan
President

NAACP-Legal Defense Fund
10 Columbus Circle
New York, New York 10019
Jack Greenberg
President

Congress of Racial Equality - CORE
200 West 135th Street
New York, New York 10030
Roy Innis
Executive Director

Southern Christian Leadership
Conference-SCLS
334 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia
Rev. Ralph Abernathy
President

Opportunities Industrialization
Center-OIC
National Institute Corp.
100 W. Coulter Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19144
Frederick Miller
Executive Director

National Urban League
55 East 52nd Street
New York, New York
Whitney Young
Executive Director

A. Philip Randolph Institute
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York

National Federation of Colored Women
1601 R Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20009
Myrtle Ollison
President
Telephone 202 DE.2-8160

National Council of Negro Women
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Dorothy I. Height
President
Telephone 202-223-2363

Spanish-Speaking

Cabinet Committee on Opportunities for
Spanish-Speaking People
1800 G Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C.
Martin Castillo
Executive Director

Mexican-American

Mexican-American Youth Organization-MAYO
P.O. Box 37345
San Antonio, Texas 78237
Mario Cumpion
Executive Director

Mexican American Manpower Agency-MAMA
751 S. Figueroa Street
Los Angeles, California 90017
Richard S. Amador
President
Telephone 213 627-6274

Operation SER - Jobs for Progress, Inc.
1506 - 3rd Street
Santa Monica, California 90401
Nicandro F. Juarez
Acting Executive Director
Telephone 213 394-3715 or 807-5578

American GI Forum
Research and Information Center
6200 Annapolis Road - Suite 202
Hyattsville, Maryland 20784
Carlos Naranjo
Director
Telephone 202 773-9401

Mexican American Legal Defense Fund
MALDEF
International Building
San Antonio, Texas 78205
Pete Tijerina
Executive Director
Telephone 512 224-5476

Mexican American Opportunity Foundation
4127 East Brooklyn
East Los Angeles, California 90063

League of United Latin American
Citizens-LULAC
515 Kress Building
Houston, Texas 77002
Alfred J. Hernandez
President
Telephone 713 228-1183

Puerto Rican

Puerto Rican Forum
156 - 5th Avenue
New York, New York 10010
Hector Vasquez
Deputy Director
Luis Cardona
Deputy Director
Telephone 212 691-4150

Puerto Rican Community
Development Project
210 West 50th Street
New York, New York
Paul Reyes
Executive Director
Telephone 212 765-9800

Spanish-Speaking (continued)

Department of Labor-Migration Division
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico
322 West 45th Street
New York, New York 10036
Manual A. Casiano
Director
Telephone 212 CI 5-0700

Council of Spanish Speaking
Organizations
2023 North Front
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Jose M. Camacho
Executive Director
Telephone 212 Re 9-7463

ASPIRA of America Inc.
245 - 5th Avenue
New York, New York
Luis Nunez
Executive Director
Telephone 212 683-6054

Roman Catholic Archdiocesan
Latin American Committee of
Chicago
1300 South Wabash
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Congress of Puerto Rican Home-Towns
254 West 72nd Street
New York, New York
Gilberto Gerena Valentin
President
Telephone 202-799-5260

General

Citizens' Advocate Center
1211 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone 202-293-1515

State AFL-CIO Departments of
Equal Opportunity

State Human Right Commissions

State Equal Opportunity Commissions